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EARLY OIL DEVELOPMENTS.

THE petroleum deposits in parts of New York and Pennsylvania attracted the attention of the earliest explorers of these regions. The red men knew also of those deposits, and made use of the oil in painting their bodies and as an unguent for the relief of many of the ills to which flesh is heir. Mention of this oil was repeatedly made by the French missionaries before the end of the seventeenth century; and in the year 1700 the governor of New York, in the course of certain instructions to Romer, who was sent to visit the Six Nations, says: "You are to go and view a well or spring which is eight miles beyond the Seneks furthest castle, which they have told me blazes up in a flame when a lighted coale or fire-brand is put into it; you will do well to taste the said water, and give me your opinion

thereof and bring with you some of it."* Some twenty years later the celebrated Charlevoix says that an officer "worthy of credit," on the Upper Ohio, now called the Allegheny, assured him "that he had seen a fountain, the water of which is like oil and has the taste of iron. He said, also, a little further there is another fountain exactly like it, and that the savages made use of it to appease all manner of pains."

About 1767 David Zeisberger, the Moravian missionary in the Allegheny river regions, says: "I have seen three kinds of oil springs—such as have an outlet, such as have none and such as rise

* For much of the material of this article, where not otherwise credited, I am indebted to the Report of the Geological Survey of Pennsylvania, 1886: 'Oil and Gas Regions.' By John F. Carll.

from the bottom of the creeks. From the first, water and oil flow out together, the oil impregnating the grass and soil; in the second, it gathers on the surface of the water to the depth of the thickness of a finger; from the third, it rises to the surface and flows with the current of the creek. The Indians prefer wells without an outlet. From such they first dip the oil that has accumulated; then stir the well, and, when the water has settled, fill their kettles with fresh oil, which they purify by boiling. It is used medicinally, as an ointment for toothache, headache, swellings, rheumatism and sprains. Sometimes it is taken internally. It is of a brown color, and can also be used in lamps. It burns well."

In 1783 General Lincoln writes as follows: "In the northern parts of Pennsylvania there is a creek called Oil creek, which empties itself into the Allegheny river, issuing from a spring, on the top of which floats an oil, similar to what is called Barbadoes' tar, and from which may be collected by one man several gallons in a day. The troops, in marching that way, halted at the spring, collected the oil and bathed their joints with it. This gave them great relief, and freed them immediately from the rheumatic complaints with which many of them were affected."

Loskiel, in his 'History of the Mission of the Evangelical Brethren, 1789,' says: "One of the most favorite medicines used by the Indians is fossil oil, exuding from the earth, commonly with water. It is observed both in running and standing water. In the latter the oil swims on the

surface and is easily skimmed off, but in rivers it is carried away by the stream. Two [springs] have been discovered by the missionaries in the River Ohio. They are easily found by the strong smell they emit. This oil is of a brown color and smells something like tar. When the Indians collect it from a standing water, they first throw away that which floats on the top, as it smells stronger than that below it; then they agitate the water violently with a stick; the quantity of oil increases with the motion of the water, and after it has settled again the oil is skimmed off into kettles and completely separated from the water by boiling. They use it chiefly in external complaints. Some take it inwardly and it has not been found to do harm. It will burn in a lamp. The Indians sometimes sell it to the white people at four guineas a quart."

Samuel Maclay, in 1790, was appointed one of the commissioners to explore the streams of the new purchase, etc., in the northwestern part of Pennsylvania. In his journal, under date of Sunday, August 1, he writes: "We arrived at Fort Frankland* about three o'clock. Though I continued to get something better, yet I mended but slowly. This afternoon I collected a small quantity of oyl from a small oyl spring in the bank of French creek, with which I had my back rubbed before I went to bed." The next day he says: "Felt something better and had

* He means Fort Franklin, where the city of Franklin, Venango county, now stands. An excellent edition of Maclay's journal was published by John F. Meginness, at Williamsport, Pennsylvania, in 1887.

my back rubbed with the oyl this morning."*

In the year 1806 Thomas Ashe, an Englishman, traveled through this country "for the purpose," as he says on the title-page of his book,† "of exploring the rivers Alleghany, Monongahela, Ohio and Mississippi, and ascertaining the Produce and Condition of their Banks and Vicinity." Ashe, unfortunately, is not always trustworthy in his statements; but his observations on this subject are entertaining, and we give them for what they are worth. "Not far from Pittsburgh," he says, "is a well, which has its surface covered with a bituminous matter resembling oil, and which the neighboring inhabitants collect and use in ointments and other medicinal preparations. The vapour arising from this well is inflammable, and has been known to hang in a lambent state over the orifice, being fed by fresh exhalations, for several hours together. The medical men of Pittsburgh profess to have analyzed this oil, and to have discovered in it a variety of virtues, if applied according to their advice."

*The healing virtues of petroleum are mildly stated by these early writers as compared with those of more modern date. In a notice "To the Readers of the Pittsburgh *Christian Advocate*," in 1852, setting forth the wonderful curative properties of "Petroleum or Rock Oil," the advertiser says: "Within the past two months, two of our own citizens, who were totally blind, have been restored to sight. Several cases of blindness in the state of Ohio have been cured, and, also, the case of a gentleman in Beaver county." He further says: "It is our duty when we write about a medicine, that we write the truth—that we say nothing calculated to deceive those who may trust our word or put confidence in our statements." Otherwise we might have doubted.

† 'Travels in America, Performed in 1806, for the Purpose,' etc. By Thomas Ashe, esq. Newburyport Reprint. 1808.

Again, he says: "Nearly opposite to Georgetown,‡ and a few yards from the shore, a spring rises from the bottom of the river, which produces an oil nearly similar to Seneca oil. I conjecture that this must proceed from a large bed of mineral coal in the vicinity of the spring. On first hearing of this, from an intelligent Scotchman, the postmaster at Georgetown, whom I questioned as to the curiosities of his neighborhood, I immediately crossed over in my canoe to examine the well and search for grounds on which to establish some particular conclusions. I found none perfectly satisfactory. The surface, about four feet in diameter, was covered over with an olive-colored slime, here and there rising in lobes filled, but not agitated, with confined air. On a more minute inspection, however, I perceived these globules burst and subside in gentle undulations, enclosing in a circle a matter whose color was less deep than that prevailing on the general face of the well. On discovering other globules to rise in succession, I gently dipped up a gourdful of water and globules while in the act of rising to the surface. I spilt the whole on the blade of the paddle, and could distinguish, very plainly, the oil which had been exposed to the air from the oil which just rose in search of it. On sounding, I found the well to be sixty-five feet deep—that is as deep as the bed of the adjacent river. On examining the neighborhood, it was plain that coal abounded, but I could not take upon me to assert that the well or its sources had any communication with that or any other mineral. As a last act,

‡ On the Ohio, thirty-eight miles below Pittsburgh.

I skimmed off a gourdful of oil, and again crossing the river, went to the house of a doctor, whom I supposed capable of analyzing the subject for me. On seeing my gourdful of oil, and the interest I took in the investigation of its properties, he very handsomely told me that 'he had but just turned doctor, and had not as yet given his time to such things.' My admiration of his candor covered him from contempt, and I returned to my Scotch friend more full of the dangerous idea of a man but 'just turned doctor,' and let loose on a sickly world, than I was of my gourd of oil, or the consequence of the discovery of its virtues to mankind."

The development of the oil industry, prior to 1859, was of slow growth. As late as 1843 the usual method of collecting the oil was still very primitive. "Oil creek," says Trego, "derives its name from the substance called Seneca oil, which rises in bubbles from the bed of the stream, and on reaching the top of the water these bubbles explode, leaving the oil floating on the surface. Though this oil is found in many places throughout the whole course of the stream, it is most abundant two or three miles from the mouth, where several of the owners of the land make a business of collecting the oil during the dry season, as it is most plentiful at low water. A dam of loose stones is raised a little higher than the surface of the water, ten or fifteen feet in diameter, around those places where the oil rises; an eddy is thus created inside of the wall which confines the floating oil, while the water passes freely between the loose stones. The oil is thus suffered to

accumulate for one, two or three days, until it becomes an inch or more in depth; a piece of flannel or blanket is then spread over it, which absorbs the oil, and it is afterwards wrung from the cloth into a barrel or some other vessel. The water which may be raised with it is drained off through a small hole at the bottom of the vessel. From two to ten or twelve barrels are collected in a season by each of the proprietors, the quantity depending upon the prevalence of dry weather and low water."* The price of the oil in Pittsburgh at that time was from seventy-five cents to one dollar per gallon.

"In the low grounds along this creek," Trego continues, "oil may be obtained by digging to a level with the bottom of the stream, but when thus procured it is not so pure and clean as that taken upon the surface of the creek. This mode of obtaining it has evidently been practiced by the Indians, or some other people, long before the white man set his foot upon the soil of this region. Places of four or five acres in extent may still be seen, where holes have been dug in the ground from six to twelve feet in diameter, close together, being yet from two to four feet deep, and having trees standing in many of them of upwards of one hundred years' growth. On the settlement of this part of the country, some of the oldest Indian residents were questioned respecting these excavations, but were unable to give any information concerning them."

In this last paragraph, Mr. Trego touches upon a topic of rare interest, which has been fully discussed by the Rev.

* 'A Geography of Pennsylvania.' By Charles B. Trego. Philadelphia: 1843. Page 359.

Mr. Eaton in his work entitled 'Petrolia: A History of the Oil Regions of Venango County.'* "From the fact," says he, "that some of these pits have been cribbed with timber bearing marks of a cutting instrument in its adjustment, many have assigned them a modern origin, and supposed that their construction was due to the French, who, at one time [say from 1750 to 1760], occupied to a certain extent the Venango oil region. But this theory is scarcely plausible, and certainly not tenable. . . . There is evidence from the growth of timber in the very beds of these excavations, that they claim an antiquity greater far than the occupation of these valleys by the French.

"Besides this, where was the market for the immense quantity of petroleum that must have been produced from these excavations, on the supposition that they were constructed by the French? Surely not in Canada or France, for neither in the misty traditions nor early records of that time do we find reference to any large quantity of this product; nor had they the facilities for conveying it to the seaboard had there been a demand for it at home.

"Another theory that has been somewhat popular is, that these pits are due to the labors of the American Indians. But the very term labor seems absurd when used in reference to these lords of the forest. They never employed themselves in manual labor of any kind. They scorned it as unworthy of their dignity and

independence. . . . They had no implements in their possession when first known to the civilized world, either for excavating or for cribbing the work when excavated, and it is preposterous to suppose that their civilization was of a higher type, or their knowledge of the arts more extensive at any former period of their history.

"Beyond all doubt the Indians were well acquainted with the existence and many of the properties of petroleum. That they valued it is beyond a question. They used it both for medicinal and for toilet purposes. But they knew of its existence and production just as the earlier white settlers did; they found it bubbling up from the bed of the stream, and from the marshy places along its banks. They no doubt collected it in small quantities, without labor and without much forethought, and with this small supply were content. The surface oil would more than answer all their purposes. . . .

"There are men still living in the oil valley who were on terms of familiar intimacy with Complanter,† a celebrated chief of the Senecas, and who was living at the time of the French occupation of the country. . . . For nearly a century he had had intercourse with the chiefs and braves of different tribes, and was well versed in their traditionary lore; but in reciting his own deeds and memories, and those of his fathers who had gone to the silent hunting-grounds of the spirit land, he could say nothing of the early oil operations, any further than the collection of it in small quantities for medicinal or

* In what I quote here from 'Petrolia,' I follow Professor Carll in the Geological Survey. 'Oil and Gas Region,' Chapter I. I regret that want of space obliges me to contract Mr. Eaton's discussion even more than Mr. Carll has done.

† Complanter was born about 1735. About the year 1790 he settled on the bank of the Allegheny river, fourteen miles above the town of Warren, Pennsylvania, where he died in 1836.

ornamental purposes. Of French operations on Oil creek he could say nothing, and on the origin of these pits he could throw no light. This would be inexplicable on the theory that they were due either to French or Indian labor. . . .

"The only rational conclusion, therefore, at which we can arrive in regard to these early oil operations is, that they are due, not to the Indians or French or early white settlers, but to some primitive

dwellers on the soil who have long since passed away, leaving no written records to tell of their origin or their history."

Other traces of these "primitive dwellers on the soil" are, no doubt, found in the flint arrow-heads and stone hatchets that are still occasionally picked up in the famous mounds of the Ohio valley, and in the ruined temples and cities of Central America.

T. J. CHAPMAN.

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE.

II.

WE were much interested in reading 'The Scarlet Letter' in 1850, and it made a powerful impression upon our minds, which has not been effaced to this day. It was a tale of early New England life; he gave in it a graphic and satirical description of the old custom-house and its venerable inmates. This book gave him a high and wide-spread reputation. It dealt with a subject of universal interest in such a way as to command universal sympathy. "From the time 'The Scarlet Letter' was published," says his son, Julian Hawthorne, "Hawthorne became a sort of Mecca for pilgrims with Christian's burden on their backs. Secret criminals of all kinds came to him for counsel and relief. The letters he received from spiritual invalids would have made a strange collection. Some of them he showed to his wife, but most of them he withheld even from her, and all of them he destroyed. Had such a pilgrimage oc-

curred before he wrote the great romance, one might have thought that he had availed himself therein of the material thus afforded him. But such practical knowledge of the hidden places of the human heart comes only to those who have proved their right to it by independent spiritual intuition. Greatness is the only magnet of the materials upon which greatness is based."

Hawthorne did not think so well of this book as of his subsequent ones. But there is reason to believe that, towards the latter end of his life, he modified this opinion. It produced its effect even upon its own author when the latter first read the manuscript to his wife. When Hawthorne was writing "Rappacini's Daughter," in the 'Old Manse,' he read the as yet unfinished manuscript to his wife. "But how is it to end," she asked him when he laid down the paper. "I have no idea," was Hawthorne's reply,

with some emotion. Someone wrote that in 'The Scarlet Letter' he was undecided as to whether or not Hester and Arthur Dimmesdale were going to elope together; why should he have been at the pains of writing the story had he contemplated the possibility of the alternative catastrophe?

His next book was called 'The House of the Seven Gables.' The witch element in this romance necessitated the scene being laid in Salem, and was written in about five months. Mrs. Hawthorne wrote to her mother as follows, in regard to it: "There is unspeakable grace and beauty in the conclusion, throwing back upon the sterner tragedy of the commencement an ethereal light and a dear home loveliness and satisfaction. How you will enjoy the book—its depth of wisdom, its high tone, the flowers of paradise, the sweet wall-flower scent of Phoebe's character, the wonderful pathos and charm of old Uncle Vennor! I only wish you could have heard him sing his own song as I did." Lowell wrote him in regard to this book: "I thought I could not forgive you if you wrote anything better than 'The Scarlet Letter.' It seems to me the 'House' is the most valuable contribution to New England history that has been made."

His next book was the 'Blithedale Romance.' Hawthorne says, in the preface to this book, that he has ventured to make free with his old and affectionately made home at Brook farm as being certainly the most romantic episode of his own life. "The characters of this romance," he says, "are entirely fictitious, though the scenes of Brook farm were in good keeping with the personages whom

I desired to introduce." This he thought his best book, as did many of his friends. One says: "The best way I can describe it is to say that it opens and shuts like heat lightning. The real philanthropist, the practical reformer, the friend of the race, must be encouraged in his glorious course by reading this book." Washington Irving says: "Your writings I have regarded with admiration as among the very best ever issued from the American press."

In 1853 Hawthorne was appointed by President Pierce, his old friend and classmate at Bowdoin college, consul at Liverpool, one of the most lucrative posts in his gift. No one could go on producing such books as he had written the past three years, and he now had a rest and an opportunity to visit Europe. What can be more agreeable, if born with tastes which cannot be fully gratified in the land of your birth, than, when the bustle and struggle of life are over and your faculties and judgment are ripened, to find yourself all at once in actual contact with the things, the scenes and the people that you have so long desired to visit—such enjoyment as some of us have experienced, and I do not know but the best part of it is the anticipation and retrospect.

Hawthorne's last three novels had been published in England, and therefore he was not a stranger to the reading people there, and he was received with hospitable pleasure. During his absence from America he did not write much except his English, French and Italian journals. His books were well received in England and he met many prominent literary men. He visited, by invitation, Mr. Martin Farquhar

Tupper, and his description of his personal appearance is amusing and funny. He was received most cordially, and Tupper greeted him by saying, "Oh, great Scarlet Letter!" "I did not know what the devil to say, unless it were, 'Oh, wondrous man of proverbs! Oh, wiser than Solomon!'" Before we reached the gate he had asked me who I meant by Zenobia, in the 'Blithedale Romance,' and whether I had drawn my own character in Miles Coverdale, and whether there really was a tombstone in Boston with the letter A upon it—very posing questions, all of them. I liked him, and laughed in my sleeve at him, and was utterly weary of him, for he is certainly the ass of asses—not but that he is a writer of great strength and power, for surely 'The Crock of Gold' is a very powerful tale. His wife and seven children are very kind people, and I heartily wish them well."

He visited France, Spain, Switzerland and Italy. He wrote the 'Italian Note-Books' and the 'Romance of Monte Beni,' which is perhaps the most widely read of all of Hawthorne's works. It was during his visit to Rome that he saw, in the church of the Capuchins, the dead monk, which figures so impressively in 'The Marble Faun.' He said: "We soon came away and left him lying there—a sight which I shall never forget."

While in Rome, Hawthorne went on laboring and meditating on 'The Marble Faun.' "I find the Italian air," he said in a letter from Florence, "not favorable to the close toil of composition, although it is a very good air to dream in, but I must breathe the fogs of old England or the east winds of Massachusetts in order to

put me into working trim;" and he finished 'The Marble Faun' on the broad and dreary sands of Redcar, England, "with the gray German ocean tumbling in upon me and the northern blasts always howling in my ears. The complete change of scene made these Italian reminiscences shine out so vividly that I could not find it in my heart to cancel them." Italy, as the site of his romance, was chiefly valuable to him as affording a sort of poetic or fairy precinct where actualities would not be so terribly insisted upon as they are, and must needs be, in America. No author without a trial can conceive the difficulty of writing a romance about a country where there is no shadow, no antiquity, no mystery, no picturesque and gloomy wrong, nor anything but a commonplace property in broad and simple daylight, as is happily the case with my dear native land. It will be very long, I trust, before romance writers may find congenial and easily handled themes, either in the annals of our stalwart Republic or in any characteristic and probable event of our individual lives. Romance and poetry, ivy, lichens and wall-flowers need ruin to make them grow.

John Lothrop Motley was in Rome with him at the time he was at work upon 'The Marble Faun,' and he occasionally descanted upon it to him. Motley wrote him after it was published: "Everything that you have ever written, I believe, I have read many times; but the 'Romance of Monte Beni' has the additional charm for me, that it is the first book of yours that I have read since I had the pleasure of making your personal acquaintance. My memory goes back to those walks (alas, not too

frequent) we used to take along the Tiber or in the Campagna. Your book has been criticised somewhat. I like those shadowy, weird, fantastic, Hawthornesque shapes flitting through the golden gloom which is the atmosphere of the book. I suppose that nothing less than an illustrated edition, with a large gallows on the last page with Donatello in the most pensile of attitudes—his ears revealed through a white night-cap—would be satisfactory." The 'Romance of Monte Beni, or Marble Faun,' was finished in 1860.

After an absence of six years, he returned to America in June, 1860. Ellery Channing wrote him: "I was greatly pleased with the success of your last book, 'The Marble Faun,' and greatly enjoyed the Italian criticism. I should be ashamed to tell you how often I have read 'The Marble Faun' or the 'Blithedale Romance.' The latter is, I think, of all your pieces, the one I like best."

After his return to America he was busily engaged in writing various books, but his health began to fail, and after a lingering illness, Nathaniel Hawthorne died suddenly, at the age of sixty, while on a visit for his health, with his old friend ex-President Pierce, to the White mountains, in May, 1864, mourned by a large number of friends. At the gates of the cemetery, at his funeral, stood on either side of the path, Longfellow, Agassiz, Holmes, Whittier, Alcott, Lowell, Pierce, Emerson and others; and as the carriage passed between them, they uncovered their heads in honor of Hawthorne's widow. His unfinished book, 'The Dolliver Romance,' was laid on his coffin.

Bayard Taylor writes to his friend,

2

James T. Field, "I am shocked to hear an hour ago that we have lost Hawthorne. Good God! are all the choice spirits leaving us? I don't think I wrote you how much I felt his sudden taking away, how cordially I liked and respected him; and I feel the edges of the gap he has left reaching over to myself. Our pride, the matchless master gone! What shall we do without him? Who can ever hope to fill his place? When such a man dies, I feel as if I should like to sit down in a lonely place and throw ashes on my head."

Hawthorne wrote: 'The Scarlet Letter,' 'The House of the Seven Gables,' 'Twice Told Tales,' 'Snow-Image,' 'Blithedale Romance,' 'Mosses From an Old Manse,' 'The Marble Faun,' 'Our Old Home,' 'American Note-Books,' 'Septimius Felton,' 'Fanshawe,' 'The Dolliver Romance,' 'The Wonder-Book,' 'Tanglewood Tales,' etc.

No two of Hawthorne's romances were composed in the same place. 'The Scarlet Letter' was written in Salem; 'The Seven Gables' in Lenox; the 'Blithedale Romance' in West Newton; 'The Marble Faun' in Italy and England; and the final unfinished ones, 'Septimius Felton' and 'The Dolliver Romance,' at The Wayside, in Concord.

Hawthorne was a diligent reader of the Bible; "And when sometimes," says Fields, "I would question, in a proof-sheet, his use of a word, he would almost always refer me to the Bible as his authority. It was a great pleasure to hear him talk about the Book of Job, and his voice would be tremulous with feeling as he sometimes quoted a touching passage from the New Testament."

Hawthorne wrote to his friend Fields, the publisher, "Did not I suggest to you last summer the publishing of the Bible in ten or twelvemo. volumes? I think it would have great success; at least (but as a publisher I suppose this is the very smallest of your cares) it would result in the salvation of a great many souls who will never find their way to heaven if they have to learn it from inconvenient editions of the Scriptures now in use. It is very singular that this form of publishing the Bible in single, bulky or closely-printed volume, should be so long continued. It was adopted, I suppose, as being the universal mode of publication at the time when the Bible was translated. Shakespeare and the other old dramatists and poets were first published in the same form; but all of them long since have broken into dozens and scores of portable and readable volumes, and why not the Bible?"

Prominent traits of Hawthorne's character were stern probity and truthfulness. The characteristics which first arrest the attention are imagination and reflection, and these are exhibited with remarkable power and activity in tales and essays, the style of which is distinguished for great simplicity and tranquillity. He is original in invention, construction and expression, always picturesque and sometimes in a high degree dramatic. Many of his favorite scenes and traditions are those of his own country, some of which he has made classical by the beautiful associations that he has thrown around them. Everything to him is suggestive, as his own pregnant pages are to the congenial reader. All his productions are life-mysteries, signifi-

cant of profound truths. His speculations, often bold and striking, are presented with singular force, but with such a quiet grace and simplicity as not to startle until they enter in and occupy the mind. The gayety with which his pensiveness is occasionally broken seems more than anything else in his words to have cost him effort. The gentle sadness, the "half-acknowledged melancholy" of his manner and reflections are more natural and characteristic. His style is studded with the most poetical imagery, and marked in every part with the happiest grace of expression, while it is calm, chaste, flowery and transparent as water.

Griswold writes: "There is a habit among nearly all the writers of imaginative literature of adulterating the conversations of the poor with barbarisms and grammatical blunders, which have no more fidelity than elegance. Hawthorne's integrity, as well as his exquisite taste, prevented him from falling into this error." Someone says, "There is not in the world a large rural population that speaks its native language with a purity approaching that with which the English is spoken by the common people of New England. The people of England and low comedians put vulgar words and phrases into the mouths of New Englanders which do them great injustice. We are glad to see a writer whose works are going down to the next ages as a representation of National manners and characteristics in all respects."

Here and there idle gossips have hinted of skeletons in the Hawthorne closets, but no one possessing any considerable acquaintance with Hawthorne ever gave

these hints the slightest attention. Hawthorne's life was as pure and transparent as his own matchless English prose style, and despite his shyness and retiring ways, he was at heart as manly as the best and he had absolutely nothing to conceal. He was one of the most truthful men of our age—as truthful as Carlyle or Lord Byron—and his life was as stainless as it was "truthful."

When writing 'The House of the Seven Gables' he said, "Sometimes when tired of it, it strikes me that the whole is an absurdity from beginning to end, but the fact is, in writing a romance, one is always, or ought to be, careening on the utmost verge of an absurdity, and the skill lies in coming as close as possible without actually tumbling over."

While in England, Hawthorne took the responsibility of publishing Miss Bacon's singular book on Shakespeare. She was much incensed at him, and broke off all correspondence with him in a storm of wrath, because he did not have any faith in her theory. It was a heavy weight for him, for he paid out of his own pocket all the expense of publication.

Mr. Bright of England, upon hearing of Hawthorne's death, wrote to his son: "I always felt that I was in a presence in which nothing that was impure, base or selfish could breathe at ease. Justice has never been done your mother; of course she was overshadowed by him, but she was a singularly accomplished woman, with a great gift of ex-

pression and a most sympathetic nature; she was, too, an artist of no mean quality. Her notes in England and Italy contain much that is valuable and much that is beautifully written."

Mrs. Hawthorne died in England in 1871. Mr. and Mrs. Hawthorne had three children. The oldest, Una, died in an Episcopal convent, where she was engaged in works of mercy, and was buried by the side of her mother in Kensel Green cemetery, England. The other daughter, Rose, married a Mr. Lathrop of New York. One son, Julian, is a writer of growing reputation and power, and of his work, 'Nathaniel Hawthorne and his Wife,' someone said, "That no biographical work has appeared since Boswell's 'Johnson' of more importance and historical interest." I was never more interested and entertained with any novel than with these two delightful volumes. The *London Times* says: "It must be admitted that upon the shoulders of Julian Hawthorne has descended, in no small degree, the mantle of his more illustrious father." The *Academy* says: "Mr. Julian Hawthorne has more powerful imagination than any contemporary writer of fiction. He has the very uncommon gift of taking hold of the reader's attention at once, and the still more uncommon gift of maintaining his grasp when it is fixed."

I had a correspondence with Julian Hawthorne, and have been greatly helped by him in preparing this paper.

FRANCIS C. SESSIONS.

ASHLAND, WISCONSIN: ITS EARLY AND PRESENT DAYS.

If the reader will look at the map of the United States, he will see on its northern boundary the largest body of fresh water in the world—Lake Superior, called by the Ojibways *Kitche Gumi*, "The Big Water." It lies between 46 and 47 degrees north latitude, and stretches east and west through eight degrees of longitude. Its coast-line is nearly two thousand miles in extent, forming some of the finest natural harbors in the world. Its surface is six hundred and thirty feet above the ocean level, while its bottom in the deepest parts is four hundred feet below the level of the tide-waters. As you come from the east end of the lake, St. Mary's river, approaching its western extremity, you will, from the deck of the steamer, notice a group of beautiful islands—the same islands which, more than two hundred years ago, met the gaze of Fathers Marquette, Allouez and Mesnard, and which, in their religious zeal, they named the "Apostles' Islands," thinking that in number they corresponded with the number of our Savior's disciples. One of these they named "Madeline," from a favorite saint of their own "Belle France," and to commemorate one of the most noted churches of Paris.

These islands in ancient times were doubtless a part of the main, as was also the land now lying under Ashland bay. Underlying them was sandstone, rising from twenty to one hundred feet above the water, and horizontal. The great gla-

ciers coming from the north, and moving in a southwest direction, cut channels in the sandstone, forming these islands, and scooping out of the solid rock the large basin which, in after years, received the name of *Chaquamegon* bay, and which is now known as Ashland bay. This was the first prophecy of the city of Ashland. In the times, millions of years before this, the vast deposits of iron ore had been upheaved and stored along the south shore of the lake, to subserve the designs of the Mighty Builder in the development of that commerce of which we now see but the earliest dawn, and of whose future extent we can form but a faint comprehension. *Chaquamegon*, *Le Anse* and *Marquette* bays are the natural outlets on Lake Superior for the rich mineral deposits which line its southern shore.

The formation of Ashland bay was therefore not accidental, but in harmony with Eternal plans. It is protected from the storms of the lake by a long, low, sandy point, and also by the Apostles' islands. Into it open from the lake three broad channels, with a depth of water ample for the largest vessels, called the North, Middle and South channels. Under these islands, vessels coming from the wild storms of the open lake are secure. It is the sailor's haven of safety.

The first settlement on the bay was made by the American Fur company in the early part of the present century, on

the beautiful Madeline island, and named La Pointe. It continued for many years the headquarters of a flourishing fur and fishing trade. About 1830 a Protestant and, soon after, a Catholic mission were established there, and churches built by them, in which devoted missionaries labored to Christianize and civilize the Indians whose homes were here and in the surrounding country. Here toiled Rev. Sherman Hall, a missionary of the American board, and Rev. L. H. Wheeler, and also that devoted man, now known to us as Bishop Baraga. These have all passed away. La Pointe, then the most populous and active village on the lake, is now, alas, "The deserted village," and is visited alone in veneration of its past memories.

On the west shore of the bay, opposite La Pointe, is the beautiful town of Bayfield, founded by Honorable Henry M. Rice in 1856. It is the terminus of the C., St. P., M. & O. railroad and the headquarters of a flourishing fish and lumber trade, and one of the most charming summer resorts on the lake.

On the west shore of the bay is also the flourishing town of Washburn—named in honor of Wisconsin's governor, Cadwalader C. Washburn. It is the favorite town of the Omaha railroad, and has several large saw-mills, and is an active and enterprising town.

The first settlement on the spot where Ashland now stands was made, in 1854, by Asaph Whittlesey and George Kilborn, both natives of the Western Reserve, Ohio. The lands were not as yet surveyed, so that they could not preempt them, and there was as yet no Homestead law. For this reason they,

with Martin Beaser, then living in Ontonagon, Michigan, laid claim, under the "Town Site" law, to about three hundred acres, embracing their log houses and small clearing. They platted this into town lots in 1855, and subsequently were allowed to enter their lands as claimed, and in due course received their title. In February, 1855, Edwin Ellis, a graduate in medicine, in the University of the City of New York, of the class of 1846, came on foot through the woods from St. Paul to the bay. He had been engaged in the practice of his profession in his native state—Maine—till 1854, when, attracted by the prospect of wider fields for enterprise in the new west, and by the advice of Judge D. A. J. Baker, his brother-in-law, then living in St. Paul, he came to Minnesota.

The years 1853 to 1857 were years of wild speculation. The states of Wisconsin and Minnesota especially were covered with rising cities—at least on paper. Fabulous stories of rich silver, copper and iron mines on the south shore of Lake Superior attracted a multitude of active young men from the eastern states. The city of Superior had been laid out, and its lots were selling for fabulous prices. The penniless young man of to-day became the millionaire to-morrow. The consequent excitement was great, and in the event demoralizing.

The Bay of Ashland, stretching far inland, the known vast deposits of iron near the Penokee Gap, whose natural route to market was evidently by Chaquamegon bay, indicated with moral certainty that at its head would rise a commercial mart which should command a wide extent of

country. The vast forests of pine were then hardly thought of, and no efforts made to obtain them. The lands were unsurveyed, and all the "squatters" were, in the eye of the law, trespassers. Nevertheless, the new-comers ran "spotted" lines around their claims and built log-cabins to hold them, and began to clear up the land. In June, 1855, Dr. Ellis went on foot to St. Paul, and thence to Dubuque, Iowa, and secured from the surveyor-general an order to survey four townships about the bay, embracing the site of the present city of Ashland. In the meantime, many settlers had come in and preempted lands in the neighborhood. In the fall of 1855 many of them were enabled to prove up and get titles to their lands.

In the winter of 1855 Lusk, Prentice & Company, who had a trading-post within the present limits of Ellis' division of Ashland, built a dock for the accommodation of the settlers coming to the new town. It was built of cribs, made of round logs sunk in the water about twenty feet apart. From one crib to another were stringers, made of logs, flattened on the upper surface, all covered with small logs to make a roadway. On the docks were piled several hundred cords of wood for the purpose of "holding" the dock from floating away, and to be sold in the summer to the steamboats which should come to bring supplies and begin the commerce of the town. The evening of the second day of April, 1855, saw the bay full of ice, slightly detached for a few feet from the shore, but with no sign of an immediate opening of navigation.

The next morning no ice was in sight, nor

a vestige of the dock to be seen. Floating timber and cord-wood covered the bay. Till then the settlers had no idea of the power of the floating ice moved by the tide of the bay. But they were not discouraged. The following winter two other docks were constructed—one by Martin Beaser, at the foot of what is now called "Beaser Avenue," and the other by Edwin Ellis, near where Seyler's foundry now stands.

These were also crib-docks, but the effort was made to anchor the cribs. There were no rocks to be had on the side of the bay where the docks were built, for which reason Mr. Beaser filled his cribs with clay, dug out of the banks. Dr. Ellis hauled stone across the bay, and filled as many of his cribs as possible, and on the top of the dock also piled several hundred cords of wood, and the settlers with anxious faces watched the departure of the ice. The shock came, and the docks afforded little resistance. The cribs filled with clay were easily carried. Those filled with stone stood better, but that part of those above water, and near the outer end, were swept away. The labors of many weary days and much money was thus swept away. There was, however, enough of the Ellis dock left to afford a landing to the few boats that came with supplies for the people.

During the years 1855, '56 and '57 many settlers had come to Ashland and built homes, and were all young men full of bright hopes for the future. In the spring of 1856 a township organization was formed, embracing more than forty townships of six miles square, and was called Bayport. The usual township

officers were elected. The year 1857 opened with bright prospects. In Ashland streets were cleared and several frame houses were built. A steam saw-mill was begun and brought near completion. But in September of that year the great financial storm came, involving the whole country in ruin. The little village of Ashland was overwhelmed. The people had but little money, and in making their improvements had contracted debts which they could not at once pay. There had been so much speculation that the settlers had paid but little attention to the cultivation of the soil, depending upon supplies brought by water a thousand miles. We had no wagon roads nor railroads within three hundred miles. Winter was coming on, and many of the settlers—in truth, all who could get away—left the place. The few who remained saw hard times, whose memory is not pleasant to recall. Some of them, in making improvements, had assumed liabilities which well-nigh ruined them. If the county had then been organized for judicial purposes, so that judgments and execution could have been easily obtained, scarcely anyone would have saved a dollar from the wreck. But this fortunate circumstance gave them time, and their debts were finally paid, and they had their land left; but it then was without value in the market. Town lots in the village, which are now selling for five thousand to six thousand dollars, could then be sold for enough to buy a barrel of flour. The years following "57" were hard years, and the settlers, one by one, moved away, so that in 1862 only two remained—Martin Beaser and Martin Roehn. In 1866 Mr. Beaser undertook

to come alone from Bayfield to Ashland in an open sail-boat. It was a stormy day, and he never reached home. His boat was found soon afterwards at the head of the bay, and his body was found the following spring on the beach on the west side of the bay. Ashland was now left desolate and alone. Mr. Roehn, with a few cows, migrated backward and forward between Ashland and the Marengo river, finding hay and pasture for his cows, selling his produce and butter at Bayfield and La Pointe, and thus eked out an existence. The first railroad to reach Ashland was the Wisconsin Central, completed in 1877, connecting Ashland with Milwaukee. Work at the Ashland end was begun in 1872, and in 1873 finished to Penokee, twenty-nine miles south from Ashland. It had been built from the south to within about eighty-five miles of Ashland, and then came the panic of 1873, and all work stopped. The building in 1872 in Ashland was quite extensive, and village property sold at good prices, and everybody was hopeful. But the crisis of 1873 coming on, all enterprises at once stopped. Not till 1877 was the railroad completed. Its completion established Ashland on a substantial basis. In 1877 the Wisconsin Central company completed the Chaquamegon hotel, one of the finest in the country, which has added greatly to the attractions of Ashland.

The building of the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha road to this place, in 1883, gave a short outlet to the west and southwest, greatly benefiting the lumber trade.

The Northern Pacific, whose eastern terminus is at Ashland, soon after com-

pleted, gave it new importance as in the direct line of transcontinental commerce.

But the advent of the Milwaukee, Lake Shore & Western railroad has done more, perhaps, to stimulate the growth of Ashland than any one of its great enterprises.

It runs northerly from Milwaukee along the shore of Lake Michigan to Manitowoc, where, turning in northwesterly course, it traverses vast tracts of valuable timber and farming lands, running for fifty miles along the Gogebic range—the richest iron region in the world.

This company has built two large and costly ore docks for the shipment of the vast amount of iron ore which it brings over its road.

The Wisconsin Central Railroad company has also built a very fine ore dock, over which it ships the iron brought from the same range by its own line—the “Penokee Railroad”—built easterly along the northern base of the Gogebic range to Bessemer, in Michigan.

Notwithstanding the depression in the iron trade, more than a million tons of ore will be shipped from Ashland the present season.

Ashland has also two coal docks—one operated by the Ohio Coal company and the other by the Columbus & Hocking Valley Coal company—both of whom are doing a large business. The Lake Shore railroad and the Wisconsin Central obtain their coal for their engines, on the northern two hundred miles, by their docks at Ashland. The same rates for coal going west prevail as from Duluth and Washburn, and a large trade is springing up over the Omaha & Northern Pacific lines.

Ashland has three National and one

private bank, all of which are conservative and carefully managed. It has also a street railway, two miles in length, with six fine cars and about forty horses, and is rendering very satisfactory service. We have also a “Gas and Electric Light Plant,” which affords abundant light for the streets, stores, dwellings and the ore docks. Ashland has also the Holly system of water-works, with about two miles of pipe laid, affording ample protection against fire and an abundant supply of water for domestic purposes. The pump-house has two ponderous engines, one being kept in reserve in case of accident.

As a point for the distribution of manufactured goods of all kinds, Ashland stands among the foremost. With practically the same rates as by the roads leading from Duluth west, it is prepared to compete with that lively town for a part of the trade of the great northwest—now in its infancy but destined soon to attain great proportions; whose beginnings we can measure, but whose vast results we cannot now comprehend.

One industry on Ashland bay is the brown stone, which exists along the water's edge for many miles on the shore of the mainland and on the islands. It can be quarried in inexhaustible quantities within a few hundred feet of navigable waters of Lake Superior. It is of fine texture and beautiful color, and hardens by exposure. Large quantities have already been shipped and the demand is rapidly increasing. It can be shipped by rail at about four dollars per ton to Cincinnati. This stone, used for trimmings in buildings built of white brick, makes a very beautiful appearance.

1701



J. S. Vaughan

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The vast quantities of pine and hardwood timber in the vicinity of Ashland, and its advantages as a point of distribution for manufactured articles in wood, render it one of the best locations for manufacturing industries. For tanneries its location is unrivaled; the supply of hemlock bark is ample, while hides can be cheaply brought from Minnesota and the northwest, and the products can be shipped in all directions at low rates.

The schools of Ashland afford the best of opportunities for the education of our youth. Our school buildings are large, new and commodious, with all modern improvements. Our schools are graded and the attendance is large.

In the churches, most denominations are represented. The Catholic is the finest church edifice in the city, built of our own brown stone at a cost of over thirty thousand dollars. There are Presbyterian, Congregational, Episcopal, Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran and several Scandinavian churches.

As a summer resort, Ashland and the Apostles' islands afford unrivaled attractions. Sail-boats, tugs and steamboats make daily excursions in all directions. The busy men from Chicago, St. Louis,

St. Paul, Cincinnati and other cities can, in one day, escape from the sweltering heat and sleep on the cool ore of Lake Superior, and with our lines of railroad and telegraph stretching in all directions, they can be in constant and instant communication with their counting-rooms a thousand miles away. Its advantages in this line are already drawing many persons of wealth and leisure, as well as invalids, who come here to spend the hot season and at the close of the summer return home with new health and vigor.

Ashland has two daily and three weekly newspapers, models of enterprise and very newsy, contributing much to the prosperity of the city.

The population of Ashland is about fifteen thousand, composed principally of persons under thirty-five years of age, and full of push and activity, who have come to stay and build up fortunes.

With all these and many other advantages Ashland seems to have a bright future, and many of us think it bids fair, in the near future, to become the second city in the state of Wisconsin. And we will labor that she shall be worthy of her rank.

EDWIN ELLIS.

SAMUEL STEWART VAUGHN.

Of the pioneers upon the southern shores of Lake Superior, none stand higher in the memory of those now living there than Samuel Stewart Vaughn. He was born at Berea, Cuyahoga county, Ohio, on the second of September, 1830. His parents were Ephraim

Vaughn and Eunice Stewart Vaughn. Samuel was the youngest in a family of five children—two daughters and three sons. Although at a very early age possessed of a great desire for an education, he was, to a large extent, denied the advantages of schools, owing to the

fact that his father was in straitened circumstances financially. It is related of the boy Samuel that he picked up chestnuts at one time, and took them into Cleveland, where he disposed of them to purchase a geography he wanted. Three months was the whole extent of his time passed in the common schools of his native place—surely a brief period, and one sorely regretted for its brevity by a boy who, even then, hungered and thirsted for knowledge.

In 1849 the young man came to Eagle River, Michigan, where he engaged himself to his brother as clerk. He remained there until 1852, when the brothers removed to La Pointe, Wisconsin, reaching that place on the fourth of August. He now opened a store, and engaged in trading with the Indians and fishermen of the island and surrounding country. La Pointe was then the county-seat of a county of the same name in Wisconsin, and a place of considerable importance, though its glory has since departed.

Young Vaughn spoke the French and Chippewa languages fluently. This accomplishment was absolutely necessary, in the early days of this region of country, to make a man successful as a trader. He was very fond of reading, particularly works of history, and through all his pioneer life his books were his loved companions. His taste was not for worthless books, but for those of an improving character; hence he received a large amount of benefit from his silent teachers.

In his relations with the Indians, which, owing to the nature of his busi-

ness, were quite intimate, Mr. Vaughn commanded their fullest confidence. It is related that when at one time there were rumors of trouble between the white people and the Chippewas, and many of the settlers became frightened and feared they would be murdered by the natives, a delegation of chiefs came to him and said they wanted to have a talk. They said they had heard of the fears of the whites, but assured him there was nothing to be afraid of; the Indians would do no harm, "for," said they, "we know that the soldiers of the white man are like the sands of the sea in numbers, and if we make any trouble they will come and overpower us." Mr. Vaughn was abundantly satisfied of their sincerity as well as of their peaceful disposition, and he soon quieted the fears of the settlers.

"Being impressed," says a writer who knew him well, "with the future possibilities of this country and ambitious, to use a favorite expression of his own, to become 'a man among men,' he recognized the disadvantage under which he labored from the limited educational advantages he had enjoyed in his youth, and his first earnings were devoted to remedying his deficiency in this respect. Closing his business at La Pointe, he returned to his native state, where a year was spent in preparatory studies, which were pursued with a full realization of their importance to his future career. He spent several months in Cleveland acquiring a 'business education.' He became a systematic book-keeper, careful in his transactions and persevering in his plans. Having de-

voted as much time to the special course of instruction marked out by him as his limited means would afford, he returned to La Pointe, at that time the only white settlement in all this region, where he remained until 1856." *

Mr. Vaughn, during the year just named, removed to Bayfield, the town site having been previously surveyed and platted. It was opposite La Pointe on the mainland, and is now the county-seat of Bayfield county, Wisconsin. There he erected the first stone building,† built also a saw-mill, and engaged in the sale of general merchandise and in the manufacture of lumber. "In his characteristic manner," says the writer just quoted, "of doing with all his might whatever his hands found to do, he at once took a leading position in all matters of private and public interest which go to the building up of a prosperous community."

Mr. Vaughn built what is known as Vaughn's dock in Bayfield, and remained in that town until 1872. Meanwhile, he was married in Solon, Ohio, to Emeline Eliza Patrick. This event took place on the twenty-second of December, 1864. After spending a few months among friends in Ohio, he brought his wife west to share his frontier life. The wedding journey was made in February, 1865, the two going first to St. Paul; thence they journeyed to Bayfield by sleigh, "partly over logging roads, and partly over no road." It was a novel experience to the bride,

but one which she had no desire to shrink from. She was not the wife to be made unhappy by ordinary difficulties.

As early as the twenty-fifth of October, 1856, Mr. Vaughn had preëmpted one hundred and sixty acres of land, afterwards known as "Vaughn's division of Ashland." He was one of the leading spirits in the projection of the old St. Croix & Lake Superior railroad, and contributed liberally of his time and money in making the preliminary organizations and surveys. Being convinced, from the natural location of Ashland, that it would become in the future a place of importance, was the reason which induced him to preëempt the land there, of which mention has just been made.

As may be presumed, Mr. Vaughn omitted no opportunity of calling the attention of capitalists to the necessity of railroad facilities for northern Wisconsin. He became identified with the early enterprises organized for the purpose of building a trunk line from the southern and central portions of the state to Lake Superior, and was for many years a director in the old "Winnepago & Lake Superior" and "Portage & Lake Superior" Railroad companies, which, after many trials and tribulations, were consolidated, resulting in the building of the pioneer road—the Wisconsin Central.

In 1871, upon the completion of the survey of the Wisconsin Central railroad, he proceeded to lay out his portion of the town of Ashland, and made arrangements for the transfer of his busi-

* Samuel S. Fifield, in the *Ashland Press* of February 6, 1886.

† This was the second house in the place.

ness thither from Bayfield. During the next year he made extensive improvements in his new home; these included the building of a residence, the erection of a store, also (in company with Mr. Charles Fisher) of a commercial dock. The Wisconsin Central railroad had begun work at the bay (Chaquamegon); and, at this time, many settlers were coming in. In the fall he moved into his new house, becoming, with his wife, a permanent resident of Ashland.

Mr. Vaughn and his partner just named received at their dock large quantities of merchandise by lake, and they took heavy contracts to furnish supplies to the railroad before mentioned. In the fall of 1872 they established branch stores at Silver creek and White river to furnish railroad men with supplies. They also had contracts to get out all the ties used by the railroad between Ashland and Penokee. In 1875 the firm was dissolved, and Mr. Vaughn continued in business until 1881, when he sold out, but continued to handle coal and other merchandise at his dock. In the winter previous he put in 10,000,000 feet of logs.

Mr. Vaughn represented the counties of Ashland, Barren, Bayfield, Burnett, Douglas and Polk in the thirty-fourth regular session of the Wisconsin legislature, being a member of the assembly for the year 1871. These counties, according to the Federal census of the year previous, contained a population of 6,365. His majority in the district over Isaac I. Moore, Democrat, was 398. Mr. Vaughn was in politics a Republican. Previous to this time he had been

postmaster for four years at Bayfield. He was several times called to the charge of town and county affairs as chairman of the board of supervisors, and in every station was faithful, as well as equal, to his trust; but he was never ambitious for political honors. He died at his home in Ashland of pneumonia, on the twenty-ninth day of January, 1886.

Mr. Vaughn was one of the most prominent men in northern Wisconsin, and one of the wealthiest citizens of Ashland at the time of his decease. He had accumulated a large amount of real estate in Ashland and Bayfield, and held heavy iron interests in the Gogebic district; but, at the same time, he was a man of charitable nature, being a member of several charitable orders and societies. He was a member of Ashland Lodge, I. O. O. F., and one of its foremost promoters and supporters. Mr. Vaughn was also a Mason, being a member of Wisconsin Consistory, Chipewewa Commandery, K. T., Ashland Chapter, R. A. M., and Ancient Landmark Lodge, F. and A. M.

Although an unostentatious man, Mr. Vaughn was possessed of much public spirit, and the remark has been common in Ashland since his death, by those who knew him best, that the city had lost its best man. Certain it is that he was possessed of great enterprise, and was always ready with his means to help forward any scheme that he saw would benefit the community in which he lived. It had long been one of his settled determinations to appropriate part of his wealth to the establishment

1904



Edwin Ellis

1850 1851 1852 1853 1854 1855 1856 1857 1858 1859 1860 1861 1862 1863 1864 1865 1866 1867 1868 1869 1870 1871 1872 1873 1874 1875 1876 1877 1878 1879 1880 1881 1882 1883 1884 1885 1886 1887 1888 1889 1890 1891 1892 1893 1894 1895 1896 1897 1898 1899 1900

of a free library in Ashland. So it was that before his death the site had been chosen by him for the building, and a plan of the institution formulated in his mind, intending soon to make a reality of his day-dreams concerning this undertaking; but death cut short his plans.

It is needless to say to those who know to whom was confided the whole subject of the "Vaughn Library," that it has not been allowed to die out. In his will Mr. Vaughn left all his property to his wife, and she nobly came forward to make his known desires with regard to the institution a fixed fact. The corner-stone of the building for the library was laid, with imposing ceremonies, on the fourteenth of July, 1887, and a large number of books will soon be purchased to fill the shelves now nearly ready for them. It will be, in the broadest sense, a public library—free to all; and will surely become a lasting and proud monument to its generous founder, Samuel Stewart Vaughn.

She who was left to carry out the

noble schemes planned by the subject of this sketch, now the wife of the Rev. Angus Mackinnon, deserves particular mention in this connection. She is a lady of marked characteristics, all of which go to her praise. Soon after reaching her home in the west she taught some of the Bayfield Indians to read and write; and from that time to the present, has proved herself in many ways of sterling worth to northern Wisconsin. "Years ago, when Ashland consisted of a few log houses and a half dozen stores—before there was even a trail through the woods that lead to civilization many miles away—this lady was a member of 'Literary,' organized by a half-dozen progressive young people; and in a paper which she then read on 'The Future of Ashland,' she predicted nearly everything about the growth of the place that has taken place during the past few years—the development of the iron mines, railroads, iron furnaces, water-works, paved streets, and, to a dot, the present limits of its thoroughfares. She is a representative Ashland lady."

EDWIN ELLIS.

The subject of this sketch is a native of New England, and one of the "Oxford Bears," having been in Peru, Oxford county, Maine, in 1824. His birthplace was on the banks of the Androscoggin river, among the mountains, a wild, romantic place. His ancestors came early from England to the Massachusetts col-

ony, about the middle of the seventeenth century.

His maternal grandfather was in the Revolutionary army, and to the end of a long life was intensely patriotic and American in all his acts and thoughts. He bought one hundred and sixty acres of government land at the close of the War

of the Revolution, on which he lived for more than seventy years, until his death. It still remains in the family. There were no roads in his neighborhood, and at first he was obliged to carry his corn and wheat to mill, for more than thirty miles, upon his shoulders and by a "spotted line." He lived to break the ground for a railroad to his town and to see its completion.

Dr. Ellis received his early education in the New England common school, whose term was not more than three months in the year. At the age of fourteen years he began the study of Latin at home, going for occasional recitations to one of the celebrated Abbot family, who was a farmer in the town, some four miles distant. He was inclined to study the law, but his mother, who was a most conscientious woman, thought an honest lawyer could not live by his calling, often repeating to him this couplet—

"If I turn lawyer, I must lie and cheat,
For honest lawyers have no bread to eat."

This had some influence upon him, and he chose the profession of medicine. He entered Waterville college (now Colby university) in 1842, pursuing its first year's course, when he began the study of medicine, teaching school in winter to raise money enough to pay his expenses, in which he was cheerfully assisted by his father to the extent of his means, which were very limited, he being a house carpenter and receiving the usual wages of those days of one dollar to one dollar and fifty cents per day.

Edwin Ellis graduated in medicine at the University of the city of New York, in March, 1846, being nearly twenty-two

years of age. He at first settled at North New Portland, Maine. It was a frontier town, and the roads in such condition that he was obliged to travel on horseback, going sometimes forty miles in the night.

At the end of a year he settled in Farmington, Maine, where he had studied his profession, where, in 1847, he was married to Sophia S. Davis, who lived less than two years, leaving a daughter, Sophia Augusta, who married George H. Kennedy, who now lives at Ashland.

Dr. Ellis married Martha B. Baker of New Sharon, Maine, in 1850, a woman of much energy of character, and who has been a faithful and efficient wife for almost forty years. By her he has three children—Domelia, married to George C. Loranger of Calumet, Michigan; Edwin H., book-keeper in the First National Bank of Ashland, and J. Scott, engaged in wood and coal at Ashland.

Dr. Ellis continued the practice of his profession in Maine, till 1854, with an increasing practice and fair prospects.

But the west was then attracting much attention and the tide of emigration flowing with a strong current. His wife's brother, Judge Baker of St. Paul, had been for several years in St. Paul, and his representations and inducements led him to sever his pleasant relations with the east and try his fortunes in the west. He with his family, wife and two children, reached St. Paul early in May, 1854. That year he carried on a farm where Merriam park now is, but he was not at home in this business, and abandoned it in the fall of that year.

The years 1852 to 1857 were years of great speculation throughout the north-

west. Towns and cities, at least on paper, were springing up with marvelous rapidity. Men became, or seemed to become, suddenly rich by the rapid rise of farming lands and city lots. It was an era of strange speculation, demoralizing in its effects and leading to the terrible panic of 1857.

A party of speculators had preëmpted the land where the city of Superior now is, in 1852, and as early as 1855 were selling shares in that rising city for fabulous prices. Chaquamegon bay, extending far inland from the Apostles' islands, appeared, to thoughtful persons, to be a site for a town which would command the trade of a large area of country, then without an inhabitant. Thither he, in February, 1855, with one companion, came by trail from St. Paul. On his arrival he found two families already on the spot where Ashland now lies—Asaph Whittlesey and his father-in-law, Mr. Haskell, who came in the fall preceding; while Lusk, Prentice & Co. had a trading-post and were building a dock. Mr. Whittlesey, with whom were associated Martin Beaser and George Kilborn, were then laying out what is now Beaser's Division of Ashland, which they claimed under the town site law. The township lines on the bay had been run, but no section lines. The land was not subject to entry or settlement; all were trespassers. But running from the township lines, the settlers were able to locate approximately the section lines, and built preëmption shanties for the purpose of holding the land till it should be subject to entry. In June, 1855, Dr. Ellis went through the woods to Dubuque, Iowa, to urge upon General Warner Lewis, then

surveyor-general of all the northwest, the necessity of the immediate subdivision of the towns about the bay. This met with General Lewis' approval, and he ordered it done as soon as arrangements could be made. A young civil engineer from Vermont, Augustus Barber, began the work in September, and towns 47 and 48, range 4, embracing the present city of Ashland, were surveyed and the plats returned to Washington and to the land office, at Superior, by November, 1855. The necessary declaratory statements were filed, and in the last of December several companions walked along the shore to Superior, for the purpose of proving up their claims. It was a cold, hard trip, but the actors were young and energetic. Thus was obtained from the government the first title to the soil on which Ashland now stands.

Dr. Ellis brought his family by boat from St. Paul in the fall of 1855, going down the Mississippi river from St. Paul to Dubuque, thence to Chicago and thence by the lakes, reaching La Pointe November 4, and his log-cabin on the bay a day or two later. In conjunction with his associates in St. Paul, he entered upon a system of improvements for the purpose of building up a town where Ashland now is, such as cutting out streets, building a dock, steam saw-mill, etc. But the financial storm of 1857 came and overwhelmed him in what appeared to be hopeless bankruptcy. He had incurred debts in the improvements made and his associates could not meet the drafts they had authorized him to make upon them, but by the most rigid economy and untiring industry, he, after several years,

succeeded in paying every claim. He remained at Ashland till 1861, when the War of the Rebellion coming on, the little hamlet of Ashland lost nearly all its inhabitants, and he felt compelled, in order to earn bread for his family, to leave the lake, and was preparing to do so when his staunch friend, the Rev. Leonard H. Wheeler, the missionary of the American board in charge of the Indian mission and boarding-school at Odonah, induced him to change his plans and go to Odonah and take charge of the boarding-school and farm at the mission. And here for several years he remained in this work, years which he recalls as the happiest of his life. Mr. Wheeler was a man of education and culture, a graduate of Middlebury and Andover seminary, and most heartily devoted to his missionary work among the Indians. His wife was a refined and most amiable lady, and their home was indeed an oasis in the moral desert around them. In 1866 Mr. Wheeler's failing health, and his desire to afford his children better educational advantages, induced him to retire from the mission work, and the American board suspended their work there. Dr. Ellis and family went to Ontonagon, Michigan, in 1866, where he resumed his profession and also opened a small drug store. Here he remained until 1872, when the proposed building of the Wisconsin Central railroad to Ashland induced his return to his old home. He had held on to his

lands on the bay as a forlorn hope, doubtful whether they were worth the light taxes levied upon them. This land now became valuable and placed him in easy circumstances. He was able with Mr. Whittlesey, Mr. Vaughn, Mr. Fifield, Colonel Knight and others to induce the building of four trunk lines of railroad to Ashland, to see numerous manufactures, a great blast-furnace, etc., three great ore docks, a busy, bustling city upon the bay, from which he had been compelled to retreat with the feeling that everything had been lost.

In 1877 he was appointed as county judge of Ashland county, by Governor Smith, to which he has been twice re-elected by his fellow-citizens. He is president of the First National Bank of Ashland. He has retired from the general practice of his profession, but is one of the surgeons of St. Joseph's hospital, which he visits an hour each day. He is still active and deeply interested in all that concerns Ashland; has aided in securing the Holly system of water-works, the gas and electric works and the street railway. He is a firm believer in the Christian religion and in a personal God, whose guiding hand he recognizes in all the events of his life, and to whom he owes everything and whom he desires to honor in all his journey of life, and is alive to all efforts designed to improve and elevate the condition of his fellow-men.

MARTIN BEASER.

On the fifth day of July, 1854, Asaph Whittlesey and George Kilborn left La

Pointe, in a row-boat, with the design of finding a "town site" on some avail-



Messiah of Western History

Martin Beaser

1811-1881

M 10 U

able point near the "head of the bay." At five o'clock P. M. of the same day they landed at the westerly limit of the present town site of Ashland. As Mr. Whittlesey stepped ashore, Mr. Kilborn exclaimed, "Here is the place for a big city!" and handing his companion an axe, he added, "I want you to have the honor of cutting the first tree in the way of a settlement upon the town site." And the tree thus felled formed one of the foundation logs in the first building in the place. Such is the statement which has found its way into print as to the beginning of Ashland. But the same account adds: "Many new-comers arrived during the first few years after the settlement; among them Martin Beaser, who located permanently in Ashland in 1856, and was one of its founders."* How this was will soon be explained.

The father of the subject of this sketch, John Baptiste Beaser, was a native of Switzerland, educated as a priest, but never took orders. He came to America, reaching Philadelphia about the year 1812, where he married Margaret McLeod. They then moved to Buffalo, in one of the suburbs of which, called Williamsville, their son Martin was born, on the twenty-seventh of October, 1822. The boy received his early education in the common schools of the place, when, at the age of fourteen, he went on a whaling voyage, sailing from New Bedford, Massachusetts. His voyage lasted four years; his second voyage, three years; the last of which was made in the whaleship *Rosseau*,

which is still afloat, the oldest of its class in America.

The young man went out as boat-steerer on his second voyage, returning as third mate. During his leisure time on shipboard and the interval between the two voyages, he spent in studying the science of navigation, which he successfully mastered. On his return from his fourth years' cruise in the Pacific and Indian oceans, he was offered the position of second mate on a new ship then nearing completion and which would be ready to sail in about sixty days. He accepted the offer. They would notify him when the ship was ready, and he would in the meantime visit his mother, then a widow, residing in Buffalo. Accordingly, after an absence of seven years, he returned to his native city, spending the time in renewing old acquaintances and relating the varied experiences of a whaler's life. He had rare conversational powers, holding his listeners spell-bound at the recital of some thrilling adventure. A journal kept by him during his voyages and now in the possession of his family, abounds in hair-breadth escapes from savages on the shores of some of the South sea islands and the perils of whale-fishing, of which he had many narrow escapes. The time passed quickly, and he anxiously awaited the summons to join his ship. Leaving the city for a day the expected letter came, but was carefully concealed by his mother until after the ship had sailed, thus entirely changing the future of his life.

Disappointed in his aspirations to command a ship in the near future, as he

* See 'History of Northern Wisconsin,' p. 67.

had reason to hope from the rapid promotions he had already received—from a boy before the mast to mate of a ship in two voyages—and yielding to his mother's wish not to leave home again, he engaged in sailing on Lake Erie from Buffalo to Detroit until 1847, when he went in the interest of a company from the latter city to Lake Superior for the purpose of exploring the copper ranges in the northern peninsula of Michigan. He coasted from Sault Ste. Marie to Ontonagon in a bateau. Remaining in the employ of the company about a year, he then engaged in a general forwarding and commission business for himself.

Mr. Beaser was largely identified with the early mining interests of Ontonagon county, being instrumental in opening up and developing some of the best mines in that district.

In 1848 he was married in Cattaraugus county, New York, in the town of Perrysburgh, to Laura Antionette Bebee. The husband and wife the next spring went west, going to Ontonagon by way of Detroit. The trip from Buffalo lasted from the first day of May to the sixth of June, they being detained at the "Soo" two weeks on account of the changing of the schooner *Napoleon* into a propeller, in which vessel, after a voyage of six days, they reached Ontonagon.

Here Mr. Beaser resided for seven years in the same business of forwarding and commission, furnishing frequently powder and candles to the miners by the ton. He was a portion of this time associated with Thomas B.

Hanna, formerly of Ohio. They then sold out their interest—Mr. Beaser going in company with Augustus Coburn and Edward Sayles to Superior, at the head of the lake, taking a small boat with them and Indian guides. Thus equipped they explored the region of Duluth, going up the Brule and St. Louis rivers. They then returned to La Pointe, going up Chaquamegon bay; and having their attention called to the site of what is now Ashland, on account of what seemed to be its favorable geographical position. As there had been some talk of the feasibility of connecting the Mississippi river and Lake Superior by a ship canal, it was suggested to them that this point would be a good one for its eastern terminus. Another circumstance which struck them was the contiguity of the Penokee iron range. This was in 1853. The company then returned to Ontonagon.

Closing up his business at the latter place, Mr. Beaser decided to return to the bay of Chaquamegon to look up and locate the town site on its southern shore. In the summer of 1854, on arriving there, he found Mr. Whittlesey and Mr. Kilborn on the ground. He then made an arrangement with them by which he (Mr. Beaser) was to enter the land, which he did at Superior, where the land office was then located for that section. The contract between the three was, that Mr. Whittlesey and Mr. Kilborn were to receive each an eighth interest in the land, while the residue was to go to Mr. Beaser. The patent for the land was issued to Schuyler Goff, as county judge of La

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MADE IN U.S.A.

John H. Knight

1871

Pointe county, Wisconsin, who was the trustee for the three men, under the law then governing the location of town sites.

Mr. Beaser afterward got his deed from the judge to his three-quarters' interest in the site.

In January, 1854, Mr. Beaser having previously engaged a topographical engineer, G. L. Brunschweiler, the two, with a dog train and two Indians, made the journey from Ontonagon to the proposed town site, where Mr. Brunschweiler surveyed and platted* a town on the land of the men before spoken of as parties in interest, to which town Mr. Beaser gave the name of Ashland. These three men, therefore, were the founders of Ashland, although afterwards various additions were made to it.

Mr. Beaser did not bring his family to Ashland until the eighth of Septem-

ber, 1856. He engaged in the mercantile business there until the war broke out, and was drowned in the bay while attempting to come from Bayfield to Ashland in an open boat, during a storm, on the fourth of November, 1866. He was buried on Madeline island at La Pointe. He was "closely identified with enterprises tending to open up the country; was wealthy and expended freely; was a man of fine discretion and good, common sense." He was never discouraged as to Ashland's future prosperity.

The children of Mr. Beaser, three in number, are all living: Margaret Elizabeth, wife of James A. Croser of Menominee, Michigan; Percy McLeod, now of Ashland; and Harry Hamlin, also of Ashland, residing with his mother, now Mrs. Wilson, an intelligent and very estimable lady.

JOHN HENRY KNIGHT.

The grandfather of the subject of this sketch, on his father's side, was William Knight. The family of Knights from which he descended settled on the eastern shore of Maryland, or rather on the peninsula between Chesapeake and Delaware bays. He was born and raised on the Delaware side. They were amongst the pioneers of that section of the country. John Henry's father's name was James Knight. He was born in Kent

county, Delaware, in 1805. His mother's name was Rebecca Scotten. She was a descendant also from an old pioneer family of that section of the country. The name of her father was James Scotten; the name of her mother was Mary Buckingham—a descendant of the Connecticut Buckinghams. James Knight and Rebecca Scotten were married in Kent county, Delaware, in 1833.

John Henry Knight is the second child of ten children—six sons and four daughters. He was born on a farm in Kent county, Delaware, near the Maryland line, about twelve miles from Dover,

*The date of the platting of Ashland by Brunschweiler is taken from the original plat in the possession of the recorder of Ashland county, Wisconsin.

on the third day of February, 1836. His education was received at the common schools until he was sixteen years of age, going to school a portion of the time and part of the time working on the farm. Afterwards, for four years, he attended school in the state of New York—one year at Charlotteville, Schoharie county, and three years at Fairfield, Herkimer county. During the vacations he would work at home on the farm. Both of these institutions were for boys. When he left school he was twenty years of age. Subsequently, he studied law three years in the office of Honorable N. B. Smithers, at Dover, Delaware, earning his living by working and paying his own expenses. One year of that time he was at the law school at Albany, graduating there in 1859. One of his classmates in the law school at Albany was Colonel William F. Vilas, now secretary of the interior.

After the young man graduated at the law school in Albany he was examined for admission to the bar by a committee of lawyers, one of whom was Honorable William M. Everetts, and was admitted to practice in the courts of New York; he then returned to Delaware and completed his three years of study, which course was necessary under the laws of Delaware, and he was thereupon, in 1860, admitted to the bar in that state. He borrowed the money to carry him through the law school from William C. Eliason of Smyrna, Kent county, Delaware, with no other security than his own note. He now commenced to practice law in partnership with Honorable George P. Fisher, remaining at Dover until President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand three

months' men. The next day he laid aside his books and determined to respond to the call. Among his old friends and neighbors at home, this raised a very deep feeling of bitterness against him; and many young men with whom he had been on the most intimate and agreeable relations, turned against him with a bitterness and hate that were remarkable.

Mr. Knight immediately set about organizing a company for the service. He got a few from his own locality to join it, but filled it to the required number from Philadelphia and New Castle county, and was soon in the field. He had had no experience in military affairs, and he got a gentleman whom he knew, who was in the National guard at Philadelphia, to take the captaincy of the company. He went as first lieutenant. This company was afterwards Company "H" of the First Delaware three months' infantry regiment. The company served on the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore railroad, near the city of Baltimore, during the whole time of its service; but Lieutenant Knight went, during that time, to join a party going to the first battle of Bull Run, and was present at that conflict of arms. At the close of the service of his three months' regiment he was commissioned captain and assistant adjutant-general of volunteers by President Lincoln, and assigned to duty with General H. H. Lockwood. About the same time he was offered a captaincy in the regular army, which he declined. General Lockwood was assigned to duty, whilst he remained with him, on the eastern shore of Maryland and Virginia, and during this time the expedition was made into

Accommack and North Hampton counties, Virginia, to break up the rebel garrison of those two counties. The Confederates were driven out and crossed over to the other side of the bay. During the time that Captain Knight served on General Lockwood's staff he was again offered a captaincy in the regular army, and declined it. In February, 1862, however, the outlook was so bad for a settlement of the difficulties that he concluded to accept the captaincy in the regular army, and did so.

In the spring of 1862 the captain applied to be sent to his regiment, the Eighteenth U. S. infantry, which was then serving at the siege of Corinth. He joined the regiment at Iuka, Mississippi, a few days after the siege was raised. His regiment was on duty with the Army of the Cumberland, which was at that time commanded by George H. Thomas, and was with that army in all its skirmishes. Captain Knight remained with it on its retreat from Mississippi and Alabama, through Tennessee and Kentucky, to Louisville, Kentucky. After the army was reinforced at Louisville and fully equipped, they started to give battle to General Bragg. They overtook him at Springfield and had a little fight with him there. A day or two after that they fought the battle of Perryville, Kentucky, in which the captain participated in command of his company.

For two or three days prior to this battle Captain Knight had typhoid symptoms coming on, and had been sent in the morning to the ambulance with a very high fever. When they were approaching the line of battle he got out and

joined his company, and went into the fight with them. He was injured by the explosion of a shell, but did not think much of it at that time; however, the next day he was unable to move, and did not walk again for about five months. The doctor stated that his spinal nerves had been injured by the concussion from the explosion so near him, which rendered him helpless and unable to even feed himself, and he has never fully recovered from this injury. He was deranged for nearly a month immediately after that battle. That was in October, 1862, and he was not well enough to do any duty until March, 1863, when he went on duty as chief mustering officer at Louisville, Kentucky. Whilst he was laid up in this way he was married, on the nineteenth of January, 1863, at Wilmington, Delaware, to Susan James Clark, daughter of Levi G. Clark, esq.

Captain Knight remained on duty at Louisville until shortly after the battle of Chickamauga. Whilst he was on duty in Kentucky he mustered into service the ten regiments of Kentuckians who were raised under a special act of congress. Amongst them was Colonel B. H. Bristow's regiment. He had many perilous experiences during all the time he was performing this duty on account of going to different parts of the state to muster. Having finished this labor, he joined his regiment again at Chattanooga, shortly after the battle of Chickamauga. He was there on duty with his regiment during all the time they were shut up there by the rebels and until after they had fought the battle of Mission Ridge, in which he participated. This was during the time Rose-

crans was hemmed in at Chattanooga, when there was great suffering from scarcity of food. He was on picket duty on the extreme right of the Union line for three days prior to that battle, and during the fight on Lookout mountain his regiment supported Hooker on the left. The position of his brigade in the line of battle at Mission Ridge was in the centre, facing the ridge from Chattanooga in a direct line to Bragg's headquarters. Sherman's army was on the left.

There is one circumstance connected with that battle that is little known. After his regiment had reached the top of the ridge they discovered a body of Confederate mounted men down on their right, cut off from their main army. It proved to be General John C. Breckinridge and his body-guard, who undertook to run by them; but they opened fire on them and unsaddled quite a number, taking the general's son prisoner.

Before this battle it had become apparent that Captain Knight could not march with his regiment; that, in fact, he was really unfitted for service. His health was very much broken down; and without his knowledge the officers of his regiment had reported it to the war department. The next day after the battle of Mission Ridge, while his regiment were drawn up at Ringgold, Georgia, where the enemy had made a stand, he received orders to proceed to Detroit, Michigan, for duty in the office of assistant to the provost marshal-general of that state and chief mustering and disbursing officer. In 1863 the captain was appointed colonel of the First Delaware cavalry regiment by the governor of that

state, but he was not permitted to join it, because it had become so reduced in numbers that the secretary of war declined his frequent applications for so doing.

Captain Knight arrived at Detroit, Michigan, in January, 1864, and reported to General Hill, who was the officer in command, and he assigned him to duty as the superintendent of recruiting service of the Michigan regiments, and he had charge of the reorganization of all of the veteran regiments of Michigan and final discharge of all of them. All matters connected with the refilling of the regiment were under his supervision. Shortly after he entered on duty in Detroit he was appointed to succeed General Hill in the entire charge of the business of drafting and recruiting, as assistant provost marshal-general, and remained on duty there until February, 1867, when he was ordered to report to his regiment in the regular army.

The new infantry regiments which were added to the regular army during the war were regiments of three battalions of eight companies each. The captain was in the Second battalion of the Eighteenth infantry. After the war closed these regiments were broken up and each regiment made into three regiments of ten companies and new numbers given to them, so that when he rejoined his regiment in 1867, he belonged to the Thirty-sixth United States infantry. That regiment was then doing duty in Wyoming and Utah territories, guarding the engineering parties who were locating the line of the Union Pacific railroad. He had charge of about four hundred miles of this line, which lay between a point about two hun-

dred miles west of the present town of Laramie City, on the Union Pacific line, and Fort Bridger. He made his headquarters in the western mouth of Bridger's pass of the Rocky mountains, and had command of that line and the troops which were guarding these locating parties of railroad engineers.

During the winter of 1868 and 1869 he was stationed at Camp Douglas, Salt Lake City, and was the next officer in rank to the commanding officer of the post. There had been a law passed during the session of congress in 1868 reducing the army. This law permitted the adjutant-general to select from the army such officers as he thought were the best in the service. The others were either to be retired or discharged, as was right and fair. Captain Knight was one of those selected by the adjutant-general to remain, and was assigned to the First infantry. Under the provisions of this law an officer could apply to be placed upon the supernumerary list and draw his pay for two years, and at the end of that time be discharged from the service.

The captain took advantage of this law for the purpose of getting into business. He went to Washington in the spring of 1869, and saw General Grant in respect to some civil appointment, and he persuaded him, on account of his health, to take an assignment of duty at the Indian agency of the Lake Superior Chippewas, the President having adopted the policy of detailing army officers for performing the duty of Indian agencies. As already intimated, Captain Knight had lost his health during the war, and it had not been restored, which General Grant knew very

well, and he offered to give him some foreign appointment, where he thought his health would be benefited by the climate. Whilst the captain was trying to hunt up a place where his health would recover, as he thought, the President suggested to him, through General Dent, to try a northern climate. The attractions which had been created by the advertisements of J. Cook & Company of the country which the Northern Pacific railroad was going to traverse, had somewhat fascinated him, and he finally concluded to go north, and was detailed to do the duties of an Indian agent to the Chippewas. That was how he came up to Bayfield, Wisconsin. He landed there on June 30, 1869, and has been in this country ever since.

There were very few soldiers who were broken down in their health more than Captain Knight was. He came to Bayfield and did the duties of Indian agent for nearly a year, and improved so much in health in this climate that he concluded to remain, and in 1870 he sent in his resignation as captain and started out for himself. He was breveted major and lieutenant-colonel in the regular army for faithful and meritorious service during the war. He then bought some law books and studied law again. He speculated in real estate and made some good investments, and concluded that he could make money in the rising values of property, and by getting back into his profession, he could make a living. About the time Jay Cooke failed and the crash came on, he accepted the office of register of the land office at Bayfield, in the latter part of 1872, at the request of C. C. Washburn, who was then member of congress from Wisconsin. Mr.

Washburn had had some difficulty in deciding between several applicants, and he solicited him to take the office. He remained in that office until about the year 1879, but was nominally register until some time in 1880.

Colonel Knight commenced business in Ashland in 1878, but did not move there until the year 1880. He organized the Superior Lumber company in 1880 and commenced business in 1881. That was the beginning of the prosperity of Ashland, and really the commencement of the start, under which it is now progressing. It was the beginning of the growth of Ashland from a village of about eight hundred inhabitants to a city of fifteen thousand, at the present time. The company is one of large wealth. In fact, it has a property valuation of fully three-quarters of a million of dollars. The colonel has been actively interested in almost every enterprise that has been since located at Ashland—the Ashland National bank, First National bank, the Ashland Brown Stone company, director

of the Street railway; and he has largely contributed to the bonus of the blast furnace. He was local attorney for the Wisconsin Central railroad for a number of years. He has been twice elected as Democratic mayor in a Republican city.

Colonel Knight's first wife died on the twenty-ninth of June, 1867, at Wilmington, Delaware. There was one child by that marriage, Eugenia Bradford Knight, who is now the wife of Leslie B. Rowley. On June 2, 1873, he was married again to Ella B. Clark, a sister of his first wife. They have five children, four girls and one boy: Susan Bouldin, Clark Miles, Mary Emelen, Elizabeth Clark and Rebecca Scotten. There is no more public-spirited man in northern Wisconsin than the subject of this sketch. Shrewd and upright in business matters, it is not a wonder that he has amassed considerable wealth. What he particularly desires in a public way is the prosperity of Ashland; and the citizens of that city duly appreciate his honesty and merit.

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

THOMAS BARDON.

THE father of Thomas Bardon was a native of Wexford, Ireland. His name is Richard Bardon. He is still living—a resident of Superior, Wisconsin, and county judge of Douglas county. The wife (the mother of Thomas) was Mary Roche, also of Wexford, Ireland. They were married in the city of Wexford, emigrating to the United States in 1844. Both grandfathers took part in the Rebellion of 1798.

Thomas is the second child of a family of seven children—three brothers and four sisters. James, the eldest, is a resident of Superior, a prominent banker and business man, and John A., the youngest, is postmaster in the same place.

Thomas was born in Maysville, Kentucky, October 22, 1848. His early education was in the common schools there and in Superior, where his parents moved in 1857.



Marston & Western History

Thomas Gordon

1844

W. H. L.

In 1867 he went out on the preliminary survey of the Northern Pacific railroad in the engineering corps. In July, 1868, he went to Ashland (then having but one resident—Martin Roehm). He was still in the employ of the Northern Pacific. He was there and in the vicinity about a month. Mr. Roehm occupied one of the buildings in the place that had previously been deserted, while some of the other buildings were used by him to shelter his cattle. From Ashland, Thomas went to Fort Abercrombie, Red river, on the same business. He has traveled over all the region from Lake Superior to the Red and Missouri rivers on several occasions—walking the entire distance—in the employment, mostly, of the Northern Pacific, during the years 1867–8–9–70 and '71. In the winter he traveled on snow-shoes, with Indian dog trains.

In 1871 he was offered a responsible position in the management of the land department of the Northern Pacific railroad, which was then being organized; but he did not accept. He concluded to sever his connection with the company and go to Ashland to live. He went thither June 1, 1872, engaging at once in the real estate business—teaching school there in the winter of 1872–3, Ashland having started up in the winter of 1871–2. This business (real estate) he has continued to the present time, but has gone out of the commission business, simply attending to his own large landed property interests.

He was married on the fifth day of November, 1884, to Jennie Grant of Winona, Minnesota. The wedding took place there. Of this marriage there is one child—a daughter—Belle.

Mr. Bardon is president of the Ashland National bank, the oldest in the city; director in the First National bank; treasurer of the Ashland Lighting company, and treasurer of the Ashland Street Railway company, being a large stockholder in all these enterprises. He is also president of the Ashland Business Men's association and has a controlling interest in the firm of Bardon, Kellogg & Co., who carry on a large retail general merchandise business. He is one of the stockholders and a director in the Northern Chief Iron company, which has its principal office in Wausau, Wisconsin. This company owns the fee to nearly three thousand acres of iron lands on the Gogebic range, upon which are located several of the best mines. It has a large income, derived from the royalties paid upon the ore mined upon these lands. He is also owner of the Burton house, at Hurley, on the Gogebic range, one of the finest hotels in northern Wisconsin.

The subject of this sketch has been mayor of Ashland one term, and is a member of the school board of that city. He is a conservative Democrat and has been a member of the state central committee, from which he resigned, and has but little taste for politics or political methods. He is proprietor of the *Superior Times*, published at Superior, Wisconsin, he having had possession of it before removing to Ashland, being first connected with it as local editor. As a citizen, Mr. Bardon stands high in the estimation of the people of Ashland and of northern Wisconsin; and, although comparatively a young man, he has already gained the reputation of being one among the most substantial and meritorious citizens of the community in which he lives.

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

WILLIAM MAWBY TOMKINS.

William Mawby Tomkins was born at Loosely Row, Buckinghamshire, England, February 24, 1845. When only five years old his parents emigrated to this country and located at Shullsburg, then a brisk mining town in the lead mining regions of this state. His father, the Rev. William Tomkins, was a minister of the Methodist faith, who did valiant service for God and the church in those early days when to be a minister meant a life of toil and self-denial. The faithful labors and ill-paid services of the pioneer minister are matters of recent history, familiar to everybody. With an unswerving devotion to duty and principle, he kindly delivered his message in the face of difficulties that might well appall the boasted self-control of the business man of to-day.

It was in such a school as this that the subject of this sketch early learned the lessons of endurance and self-reliance that were to serve him in good need in the coming years. Like many others who have been architects of their own fortunes, he worked in the harvest fields in order to earn for himself the means to prosecute his studies, and in this way was enabled to take a classical course at Brunson institute, and, later, a scientific course at the State university at Madison.

During the next few years he followed the example of most ambitious youths and taught the village school. In 1872 he married Elizabeth A. Pearce of Iowa county, and in April, 1873, removed to Ashland.

Ashland, at this time, was but an unambitious hamlet, offering but few oppor-

tunities to the new-comer, and hence Mr. Tomkins resolutely shouldered ax and spade and lent a helping hand in clearing the site of the future city.

In December of 1873 he was elected town clerk and reelected to the same office in 1874 and 1875. About this time Ashland began to be a place of refuge for criminals and "tough" men generally, who threatened to control the destinies of the town; and at a time when to hold such an office required some courage, Mr. Tomkins was elected justice of the peace, and administered the law with such a firm hand that the "toughs" were obliged to emigrate to a more congenial climate.

This experience turned Mr. Tomkins' attention to the study of law, which he prosecuted with so much diligence that in 1875 he was admitted to the bar, and in November of the same year elected district attorney. This office he held for five successive years. During the first period of the growth of Ashland he also held the offices of county clerk and county treasurer, in all of which he made a faithful and trustworthy official.

Mr. Tomkins has, from the first, been identified with the growth of Ashland, and the positions of trust he has received at the hands of his fellow-citizens testify to his integrity and business ability. He is at the present time a director in the Ashland National bank and also in the Ashland Water company; a stockholder in the First National bank; secretary of the Ashland Lighting company and also of the Ashland Street Railway company.

As a lawyer, Mr. Tomkins stands high in his profession, his early experience in



W. M. Tompkins

1871

1904

town and county offices giving him pre-eminence as a real estate lawyer.

By industry and judicious investments

he has secured a competency which insures comfort for the rest of his life.

ANGUS MACKINNON.

EARLY PERIODICAL LITERATURE OF THE OHIO VALLEY.

VI.

CONWAY'S DIAL.

"THE Dial: A Monthly Magazine for Literature, Philosophy and Religion. M. D. Conway, Editor. *Horas non numero nisi serenas*. Cincinnati. No. 76 West Third Street. 1860."

Thus reads the title-page of a bound volume of one of the most original, peculiar and audacious publications that ever issued from the press. The work is complete in twelve numbers, just filling the eventful months of the memorable year 1860, the year of Lincoln's first election, the year after John Brown's raid and before the fall of Sumter. The opening article in the January number, entitled, "A Word to Our Readers," concludes with the following paragraph:

"The Dial stands before you, reader, a legitimation of the spirit of the age, which aspires to be free; free in thought, doubt, utterance, love and knowledge. It is, in our minds, symbolized not so much by the sun-clock in the yard as by the floral dial of Linnæus, which recorded the advancing day by the opening of some flowers and the closing of others; it would report the day of God as recorded in the unfolding of higher life and thought, and the closing up of old superstitions and

evils; it would be a dial measuring time by growth."

When Moncure Daniel Conway penned this paragraph he had not completed the twenty-eighth year of his very active life, though he had begun an aggressive literary career ten years before. Born in Virginia in 1832, he graduated from Dickinson college in 1849, then studied law, and in 1851 entered the ministry as a Methodist preacher. Before ascending the pulpit he had written for the Southern Literary Messenger, the Richmond *Examiner* and the Ladies' Repository, and had put forth a vigorous pamphlet advocating the introduction of the New England system of free schools in Virginia. He had, also, not only repudiated all sympathy with the system of slavery, but had begun a war on that institution as fierce as the pen could wage. Some time in 1852 he withdrew from the Methodist church and went to Cambridge, where he entered the Divinity school, from which he graduated a "broad-gauge" Unitarian, or, rather, an Emersonian transcendentalist. From 1854 to 1856 he was pastor of the Unitarian society at Washington City. The reason for his leaving Washington for

Cincinnati is thus given in his own language: "I was by a majority of five of the Unitarian congregation in Washington City declared to be too radical in my discourses on slavery for the critical condition of that latitude; and, therefore, I was invited to become minister of the First Congregational church in Cincinnati, Ohio." This was in 1856. Conway's thinking, writing and preaching became more and more independent, liberal and unpopular with religious denominations. He disbelieved in the supernatural elements of Christianity, and published what were regarded as flippant "Tracts for Today" and discourses in "Defense of the Theater," and on the "Natural History of the Devil."

Such was the history and record of the young man, M. D. Conway, at the period when the *Dial* was conceived and born. His mind was saturated and dripping with speculative philosophy and the thought and dream of the Concord seer. The very name of the new magazine was identical with that of the celebrated Boston "organ," conducted in 1840-5 by Margaret Fuller and R. W. Emerson, of which the western journal, as Conway confessed, aspired "to be an Avatar."

The great majority of pieces in the *Dial* were written by Conway, even including several bits of poetry, "Eola," "Amor Respicit Coelum," etc. He wrote a series of ten papers, a sort of didactic story in the Carlylesque style, called "Dr. Einbohrer and His Pupils," in which are discussed various problems of evolution, life and faith. Other of his articles are, "Excalibur: A Story for Anglo-American Boys," being a dramatic history of John

Brown's sword; "The God with the Hammer," "The Two Servants," "Nemesis of Unitarianism," "Swedenborgian Heretic," "The Magic Duet," "The Word," "Moral Diagnosis of Disease" and "Who Discovered the Planet?" The last named was widely copied and the poet Longfellow praised it.

The *Dial* had a number of able contributors, several of them distinguished in letters. Among these was Rev. O. B. Frothingham, who published in the *Dial* a complete work running through nine numbers, entitled, "The Christianity of Christ." This was the earliest published work of importance by the author.

Emerson honored his friend and admirer by sending occasional contributions in prose and verse to the Cincinnati periodical. The essay, "Domestic Life," was published October, 1860, and "The Story of West Indian Emancipation," in November. The quatrains—"Cras, Heri, Hodie," "Climacteric," "Botanist," "Forester," "Gardener," "Northman," "From Alcuin," "Nature," "Natura in Minimus," "Orator," "Poet," "Artist," were originally printed in Conway's *Dial*.

A number of the early poems of W. D. Howells adorn the pages of the *Dial*. Of these I name, "The Poet," "Misanthropy" and the lines beginning,

"The moonlight is full of the fragrance
Of the blooming orchard trees."

It rests upon undeniable authority that the first printed notice of his work that Howells ever saw was a little review of the "Poems of Two Friends," published in the *Dial* for March, 1860. The notice says, "Mr. Howells has intellect and culture, graced by an almost Heinesque

familiarity with high things ; and if it were not for a certain fear of himself, we should hope that this work was but a prelude to his sonata."

Translations from Taussennel, Balzac and other French authors were furnished the Dial by Dr. M. E. Lazarus. The longest of these was a complete translation of Balzac's "Ursula."

R. D. Mussey wrote for the Dial a striking allegorical composition on love, with the figurative title, "My Sculptured Palace Walls."

A very remarkable and, to most minds, shockingly irreverent article on "Prayer" was contributed by the late Orson S. Murray. The object of the writer was to prove that all prayer is unmitigated evil. Mr. Conway added a comment to the article, disclaiming responsibility for its sentiments and combatting them.

Orson Murray was a noted anti-slavery agitator, and opposer of the church. Whittier described him as a "man terribly in earnest, with a zeal that bordered on fanaticism, and who was none the more genial for the mob violence to which he had been subjected." He was born in Orwell, Vermont, September 23, 1806 ; removed to Ohio in 1844, where he published a radical paper, *The Regenerator*, which had been started in New York. He died at his residence, near Foster's, Warren county, Ohio, June 14, 1885, aged seventy-nine. He had prepared his own funeral sermon, or "Death-bed Thoughts," which were read on the day of his burial.

An exceedingly attractive and suggestive feature of the Dial was a department called "The Catholic Chapter," a monthly collection of religious and moral aphor-

isms from all sources, ancient and modern, which, no doubt, was the beginning of Conway's "Sacred Anthology."

The best and most readable of Conway's own writing in the Dial is the part included under the head of "Critical Notices." In this sort of work the versatile editor was crisp, piquant and wonderfully discriminating. His genius is essentially literary, and he reads and reviews books *con amore*.

The year 1860 was prolific of significant books, especially in the line of controversy, religious and political, and of discussion, scientific and philosophical. A few of the numerous works reviewed with more or less thoroughness in the Dial, were Henry Ward Beecher's 'Views and Evidences of Religious Subjects' and Edward Beecher's 'Concord of Ages,' both progressive ; Sir William Hamilton's 'Logic,' the 'Political Debates of Lincoln and Douglas' and Redpath's 'Life of John Brown,' Darwin's 'Origin of Species,' Hawthorne's 'Marble Faun' and George Eliot's 'Mill on the Floss,' and, in poetry, 'Lucile' and Walt Whitman's 'Leaves of Grass.'

The editor's breezy criticism of Whitman contains an amusing passage, which is here quoted because it kills two or more birds with a well-slung stone. It reads as follows : "A friend of ours told us that once, when he was visiting Lizst, a fine-dressed gentleman from Boston was announced, and during the conversation the latter spoke with great contempt of Wagner (the new light) and his music. Lizst did not say anything, but went to the open piano and struck with grandeur the opening chords of the Tannhäuser over-

ture; having played it through, he turned and quietly remarked, 'The man who doesn't call that good music is a fool.' It is the only reply which can be made to those who do not find that quintessence of things which we call poetry in many passages of this (Whitman's) work."

In a short but cordial notice of Coggeshall's 'Poets and Poetry of the West,' published at Columbus in 1860, occur these resounding sentences; "But we do not fear that any man will carefully read this book without seeing that the west has a symphony to utter, whose keynote is already struck, and which is to make the world pause and listen. The world has heard the song of Memnon in the Orient; it must now turn to hear the Memnon, carved by the ages, as it shall respond to the glow of the Occident."

The very last one of the seven hundred and seventy-eight pages included in the *Dial* is devoted to a reverential and laudatory heralding of Emerson's 'Conduct of Life,' the sheets of which the Boston master furnished in advance to his Cincinnati disciple.

The *Dial* was self-supporting. It was largely patronized by Jews.

In his "Parting Word" to the reader, the proprietor wrote: "We confess to some complacency regarding what we have done, and can never be brought to look upon the *Dial* as, in any sense, a failure. We could name one or two papers that we have been enabled to lay before the public, and claim that they alone were worth all the toil and expense which our project has involved with editor or subscriber. Sweeter verses have never been sung in the land than some which have

been wafted from the branches of the *Dial* through the country. And we rest from our labors quite sure that we shall see the day when the numbers remaining on hand will be insufficient to supply the demand for them."

W. H. VENABLE.

Partial list of literary periodicals published in the Ohio valley from the year 1819 to 1860:

The Western Review and Miscellaneous Magazine. Monthly. Wm. Gibbs Hunt, Lexington, Ky., August, 1819, to July, 1821.

The Literary Cadet. Weekly. Dr. Joseph Buchanan, Cincinnati, November, 1819. Twenty-three numbers were issued and then the Cadet was merged in the Western Spy, which was thereafter published as the Western Spy and Literary Gazette.

The Ohio. Semi-monthly. John H. Woods and Samuel S. Brooks, Cincinnati, 1821. Continued for one year.

The Literary Gazette. Weekly. John P. Foote, Cincinnati, January, 1824, to December, 1824. Revived by Looker and Reynolds, who continued it for eight months in 1825.

The Western Minerva. Francis and Wm. D. Gallagher, Cincinnati, 1826. Survived less than one year.

The Western Review. Monthly. Timothy Flint, Cincinnati, May, 1827, to June, 1830.

Transylvania Literary Journal. A college paper. Prof. Thos. J. Matthews, Lexington, Ky., 1829.

Masonic Souvenir and Pittsburgh Literary Gazette. A quarto weekly. Flint called it, "in form and appearance the handsomest in our valley." 1828.

The Shield. Weekly. R. C. Langdon, Cincinnati, 182-. Survived two years.

The Ladies' Museum. Weekly. Joel T. Case, Cincinnati, 1830. Survived one or two years.

The Illinois Magazine. Monthly. James Hall, Shawneetown, Ill., October, 1830, to January, 1832.

The Cincinnati Mirror and Ladies' Parterre. Edited by Wm. D. Gallagher. Published by John H. Wood. Semi-monthly. First number issued October 1, 1831. At the beginning of the third year Thomas H. Shreve went into partnership with Gallagher and the two bought the paper, enlarged it, and issued it weekly under the name Cincinnati Mirror and Western Gazette of Literature. In April,

1835, the Chronicle was merged in the Mirror and James H. Perkins became one of its editors. The Mirror was sold in October, 1835, to James B. Marshall, and bought again in January, 1836, by Flash and Ryder. It was discontinued early in 1836.

The Western Monthly Magazine, a continuation of the Illinois Magazine. Cincinnati, James Hall, January, 1833, to February, 1837.

The Academic Pioneer and Guardian of Education. A. Pickett, Cincinnati, 1833.

The Literary Pioneer. Nashville, Tennessee, 1833.

The Kaleidoscope. Nashville, Tennessee, 1833.

The Literary Register. Elyria, Ohio, 1833.

The Schoolmaster and Academic Journal. Semi-monthly. B. F. Morris, Oxford, Ohio, 1834.

The Western Gem and Cabinet of Literature, Science and News. St. Clairsville, Ohio. Semi-monthly, and afterwards weekly. Gregg and Duffey. Mrs. Dumont and Mrs. Sigourney were contributors. 1834. Kept up about a year.

The Western Messenger. Cincinnati and Louisville. Western Unitarian Association. Edited by Ephraim Peabody, James Freeman Clarke, James H. Perkins and W. H. Channing. June, 1835, to April, 1841.

The Family Magazine. Cincinnati, Eli Taylor. Started in 1836 and published six years or more.

The Western Literary Journal and Review. Cincinnati, Wm. D. Gallagher, 1836. One volume.

Western Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal. Louisville, W. D. Gallagher and John B. Marshall, 1837. Five numbers only.

The Hesperian ; or, Western Monthly Magazine. Columbus and Cincinnati, Wm. D. Gallagher and Otway Curry, May, 1838, to 1841.

The Literary News-Letter. Weekly. Louisville, Kentucky, Edmund Flagg, 1839. One year.

The Monthly Chronicle. Mansfield, Ohio, 1839. Literary Examiner and Western Review. Pittsburgh, E. B. Fisher and W. H. Burleigh. Monthly. Eighty-four pages to a number. 1839. Published about a year.

The Buckeye Blossom. Xenia, P. Lapham and W. B. Fairchild, 1839.

The Family Schoolmaster. Richmond, Ind., Halloway and Davis, 1839.

The Western Lady's Book. Cincinnati. Edited by an association of ladies and gentlemen. Published by H. P. Brooks. Began August, 1840. Short lived.

The Ladies' Repository and Gatherings of the West. Cincinnati, Methodist Book Concern, 1841 to 1876. In the year 1877 the Methodist Book Con-

cern began to publish the National Repository, which was kept up for four years.

The Western Rambler. Cincinnati, Austin T. Earle and Benj. S. Fry. Started September 28, 1844. Survived only a few months.

Southwestern Literary Journal and Monthly Review. E. C. Z. Judson ("Ned Buntline") and H. A. Kidd, assisted by L. A. Hine. Nos. 1 and 2 were published in Cincinnati; Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6 in Nashville, Tennessee. From November, 1844, to April, 1845.

The Querist. Cincinnati, Mrs. R. S. Nichols, 1844. Continued a few months.

The Democratic Monthly Magazine and Western Review. Columbus, Ohio; B. B. Taylor, editor; S. Medary, publisher. June and July, 1844.

The Casket. Cincinnati, J. H. Green, "the reformed gambler," and Emerson Bennett, 1845.

The Quarterly Journal and Review. Cincinnati, L. A. Hine, January to July, 1846.

The Herald of Truth. Cincinnati, L. A. Hine, January, 1847, to June, 1848.

The Great West. Literary newspaper. Cincinnati, E. Penrose Jones, May 5, 1848, to March, 1850.

Sackett's Model Parlor Paper. Cincinnati, Egbert Sackett and F. Colton, December, 1848. Eight numbers issued.

The Phonetic Magazine. Forty-eight pages. Monthly. Partly in the reformed spelling. Longley Brothers.

Type of the Times. Successor to above. Weekly octavo. Same publishers. Edited by Elias Longley and William Henry Smith.

The Shooting Star. Cincinnati, S. H. Minor.

The Semi-Colon. Cincinnati.

The Western Mirror. G. W. Copelan and "Sam'l Pickwick, Jr.," Woodward College, Cincinnati.

Western Quarterly Review. Cincinnati, L. A. Hine, January to April, 1849.

Gentleman's Magazine. Cincinnati, J. Milton Sanders and J. M. Huntington, 1849. A few numbers only.

The Hipecan. Cooper Female Institute, Dayton, Ohio, 1849.

Moore's Western Lady's Book. Cincinnati. Edited by A. and Mrs. H. G. Moore. Begun in 1849 and continued about eight years.

The Western Pioneer. Chillicothe, S. Williams.

The Western Literary Magazine. Columbus, Ohio, Geo. Brewer.

The Columbian. Literary newspaper. Cincinnati, W. B. Shattuc and W. D. Tidball, October 20, 1849, to March, 1850.

Columbian and Great West. Cincinnati, W. B. Shattuc, March, 1850, to September, 1854.

The Citizen. Lyons and McCormick, Cincinnati, 1851.

Pen and Pencil. Cincinnati, W. Wallace Warden. Started January, 1853. Eight numbers issued.

The Parlor Magazine. Cincinnati. Conducted by Jethro Jackson, assisted by Alice Cary. Begun July, 1853. Two volumes.

Genius of the West. Cincinnati. Edited by Howard Durham, Coates Kinney and W. T. Coggeshall. October, 1853, to June, 1856.

The Literary Journal. Cincinnati, Mrs. "Ella Wentworth" and Mrs. E. K. Bangs, 1854. A few numbers.

West American Review. Cincinnati, G. W. L. Bickley, 1854.

The Forest Garland. Cincinnati, Smith and Lapham, 1854.

The Odd Fellows' Literary Casket.* Cincinnati. Edited by W. P. Strickland; published by Tidball and Turner. Begun in 1854.

The Diadem. Attica, Ohio, J. C. Michell, 1854.

The Literary Messenger. Versailles, Indiana. Ross Alley, 1854.

The Western Literary Cabinet. Detroit, Michigan, Mrs. Sheldon, 1854.

The Home Journal. Cincinnati, Alf Burnett and Enos B. Reed, 1855.

The Western Art Journal. Cincinnati. Edited by Rev. W. P. Strickland; published by J. S. Babcock, 1855.

The Message Bird. Waynesville, Ohio, J. W. Roberts, 1856 to 1860.

The Dial: A Monthly Magazine for Literature, Philosophy and Religion. Cincinnati, M. D. Conway, January to December, 1860.

* Afterwards published by Longley Brothers. Eighty pages. W. H. Smith, editor. Dr. I. D. Williamson.

1788: OUR FIRST COURT HELD A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

I STATED in my paper published in the September number of the *MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY* that Governor St. Clair, on the twenty-sixth of July, 1788, at Marietta, proclaimed the establishment of the county of Washington, being the first one erected in the territory northwest of the River Ohio, defining its boundaries by metes and bounds; and that the governor and Judges Varnum and Parsons then proceeded to address themselves to the further performance of their official duties, by adopting or enacting a law providing for the organization of the militia, and other laws which were ultimately to form a complete code for the government of the territory.

Among the laws perfected and promulgated by them during the month of August, 1788, were those providing for establishing common pleas courts and

courts of general quarter sessions; also courts of probate, or orphans' courts, and justices' courts. The act which provided for the organization of the foregoing courts bore date August 30, 1788.

The court of common pleas was composed of three judges, any two of whom constituted a quorum to transact the business of the court.

The court of general quarter sessions was composed of two judges of the common pleas court and of three county justices of the peace or magistrates, and was required to hold sessions four times in each year. The probate court held four sessions a year also. It consisted of but one judge except in certain contingencies, when he was authorized to call to his assistance two judges of the court of common pleas.

General Rufus Putnam, General Ben-

jamin Tupper and Colonel Archibald Crary were the first judges of the common pleas court of Washington county, in the Northwest territory, appointed by Governor St. Clair in August, 1788. Colonel Ebenezer Sproat was appointed sheriff and Colonel Return J. Meigs, sr., was clerk of said court, also of the general court of quarter sessions; and Colonel Sproat also served as sheriff of both courts.

It is asserted by Mitchner, the historian, in 'Ohio Annals,' that the first court of common pleas in the Northwest territory was held at Marietta during the first week in September, 1788. The same author, in remarking upon the scenes, pageantry, style, exercises and display connected therewith, observes that a procession was formed at the "Point" (the junction of the Muskingum with the Ohio river) of the inhabitants and the officers from Fort Harmar, who escorted the judges of the court of common pleas, the governor of the territory and the territorial judges to the hall appropriated for that purpose, in the northwest block-house in Campus Martius. The procession was headed by the sheriff with drawn sword and baton of office. After prayer by Rev. Manasseh Cutler, the court was organized by reading the commissions of the judges, also of the clerk and sheriff, after which the latter proclaimed the court open for the transaction of business.

The first court of general quarter sessions held in the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio," was opened at Marietta, in "Campus Martius," September 9, 1788. The commissions appointing the judges were read. Judges Putnam and Tupper of the common pleas court

were on the bench, and, with Esquires Isaac Pearce, Thomas Lord and Return Jonathan Meigs, jr. (three county justices of the peace or territorial magistrates), constituted the quorum of our first court of quarter sessions, held a hundred years ago in the Northwest territory.

As already stated, Messrs. Sproat and Meigs served respectively in the offices of sheriff and clerk. The first act of the court was to proceed to impanel a grand jury, which was accordingly done, the following named gentlemen constituting that body, namely: William Stacey (foreman), Nathaniel Cushing, Nathan Goodale, Charles Knowles, Anselm Tupper, Jonathan Stone, Oliver Rice, Ezra Lunt, John Matthews, George Ingersoll, Jonathan Devol, Jethro Putnam, Samuel Stebbins and Jabez True.

And this was the first grand jury to exercise its important functions in the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio," and it was just one hundred years ago when our local or county courts were first organized.

The men that constituted the early-time local courts in the Northwest territory a century ago, were principally New Englanders and organizers, or at least members, of the Ohio Land company. All were brave-hearted pioneers and "men of mark"—patriots and heroes were they all, who had recently been conspicuous on the battle-fields of the Revolution, and were all leaders and well known and prominent for intelligence and integrity and the practice of the higher virtues. But if indulged, I will speak of them a little more in detail, promising though to deal very sparingly in words.

Judge Putnam of the common pleas court had made a highly honorable record as a commander during our Indian and French wars, before our Revolutionary struggle, as well as during his eight years' service in that war. He was the chief founder, as well as the chosen leader, of the Ohio Land company, in 1787-88, and succeeded Judge Parsons, in 1790, as one of the territorial judges; was a brigadier-general in General Wayne's army for a time; served as surveyor-general some years, and also as a member of the territorial legislature and as a member of the constitutional convention of 1802.

Judge Tupper, who was associated with Judge Putnam in holding the first court of common pleas at Marietta in 1788, served with honor in the French and Indian wars, as well as during the Revolutionary war; was a member of the Ohio Land company; served with distinction in various military and civil positions, and was a man of excellent reputation, of decided talents and of great influence.

Colonel Ebenezer Sproat, an officer (sheriff) of our early-time courts, was a colonel commanding a regiment during the Revolution, serving with distinction on many a well-fought battle-field. He was one of the Ohio Land company who came to the Northwest territory with General Putnam in 1788. Being a man of influence, character and great popularity, he was retained in the sheriff's office, in Washington county, fourteen years, or until the year 1802.

Colonel Return J. Meigs, the clerk of our first courts, had also served as a colonel in the Revolutionary war, and performed such acts of bravery and heroic exploits

as to receive a vote of thanks—also a sword—from congress. He commanded a regiment at the storming of Stony Point, and served with great gallantry to the end of the war, performing some brilliant acts of heroism.

After serving for a time as clerk of the courts in Washington county, Colonel Meigs joined the army of General Wayne in a high official capacity and acquitted himself creditably. In 1801 President Jefferson appointed him agent for Indian affairs—a position which required his removal from the territory—and he died at the Cherokee agency, while yet in the public service, in 1823.

Colonel Meigs was a member of the company of emigrants that, under the leadership of General Putnam, arrived at the mouth of the Muskingum river in 1788. He was a man of a high sense of honor, of the strictest integrity and of great influence.

Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL. D. (the court chaplain at Marietta in 1788), was a graduate of Yale college in 1765; served as an army chaplain during the Revolutionary war; became noted for his scientific attainments; was elected a member of the American Academy of Sciences, and also of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and of other learned societies. He was a "man of affairs"—an active agent was he of the Ohio Land company, in negotiating with congress for the extensive tract of land of said company's purchase of a million and a half of acres.

Chaplain Cutler was tendered a territorial judgeship by President Washington, which he declined, although he had studied law. He brought a company of

emigrants to the Northwest territory, arriving in July, 1788, which company probably included the three county magistrates (Squires Pearce, Lord and Meigs, jr.) who had in part constituted the court of quarter sessions. The chaplain (Cutler) returned to Massachusetts in 1790; served in several sessions of the legislature of said state; was twice elected a member of the congress of the United States, serving in that body in 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 and 1804.

And of similar reputation, though not so widely known, were the associate magistrates (Pearce, Lord and Meigs, jr.) that, with Judges Putnam and Tupper, held the first court of quarter sessions in the Northwest territory, just a century ago. They were men of solid character and, presumably, members of the Ohio Land company. They early arrived at the "Point," and soon attained to a good degree of consideration and standing. The last named of the three magistrates under consideration (Return Jonathan Meigs,

jr.) was a graduate of Yale college in 1785; came to the Northwest territory in 1788, having previously studied law. He subsequently served as a territorial judge; also as a judge of the supreme court of Ohio, governor of the state, an efficient major-general during the War of 1812-15; also postmaster-general of the United States, and finally a United States senator.

I stated that Archibald Crary was the third judge that composed the first court of common pleas in 1788; he, however, did not occupy the bench with his associates (Judges Putnam and Tupper), it being unnecessary, as two judges constituted a quorum of said court.

Judge Crary was a man of character and influence, but not much inclined to occupy public positions; hence our territorial annals make mention of him but seldom. Nevertheless, he was one of the honored pioneers of the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio."

ISAAC SMUCKER.

THE AMERICAN RAILROAD: ITS INCEPTION, EVOLUTION AND RESULTS.

IX.

AN ERA OF RAILROAD VENTURES—1836 TO 1840.

THE year 1836 was not the witness of so many propositions, promises and plans as were advanced in the twelve months preceding, the country seeming to have reached a stage of reflection, with an idea that some of the schemes already on hand could be profitably disposed of before others were formulated. Yet the end of high hopes and rosy expectations had been by no means reached, nor had it been demonstrated by practical experience that the pace of railroad building had been set at a mark beyond the demands of the country. Public orators and newspaper writers still waxed eloquent of the wonders to be achieved by steam, and painted in picturesque language the glories that were to gleam along the lines of bright-worn iron stretching away to north and south and west.

And there was by no means silence nor cessation from labor on the part of those who were interested in steam. In February we learn that in New York, the bill authorizing a state loan of three million dollars to the New York & Erie

company has passed the legislature by a vote of sixty-three to forty-five. In addition to various enterprises of a minor nature in the east, the great west is awakening and following in the steps of the older states. Michigan and Indiana seem fully aroused. Of the former, the *Detroit Journal* says: "Companies have been chartered for the construction of railroads from Detroit to the mouth of St. Joseph's; from Toledo to the mouth of the Kalamazoo; from Monroe to some point on the Detroit & St. Joseph's railroad—Marshal, we believe; from Detroit to Pontiac, which will probably be continued to Saginaw or the Grand river; from Mount Clemens to Saginaw. Perhaps the whole length of these cannot be less than seven hundred miles. The money paid on account of ardent spirits by a population of two hundred thousand would be sufficient, in six years, to complete all these works"—if they could only be persuaded to pay it. The passage of the "Great Internal Improvement Bill," by the senate of Indiana, had for its

purpose a loan of ten million dollars on the credit of the state and to be expended under the direction of a board of internal improvements. The figures to be expended upon railroads out of this sum were as follows: \$1,600,000 to the New Albany & Lafayette railroad; \$1,300,000 to the New Albany & Crawfordsville macadamized or railroad; \$500,000 to the Lawrenceburgh & Indianapolis railroad.

Illinois, also filled with an emulative spirit and not willing that others should be ahead of her in the onward march of improvement, passed, during the session of the legislature that ended in February of 1836, fourteen acts of incorporation authorizing the construction of the following roads: "Bellville & Mississippi; Warsaw, Peoria & Wabash; Wabash & Mississippi Union; Shawneetown & Alton; Pekin, Bloomington & Wabash; Mississippi, Springfield & Carrollton; Galena & Chicago; Central Branch Wabash; Waverly & Grand Prairie; Winchester, Gynville & Jacksonville; Alton, Wabash & Erie; Mount Carmel & Alton; Rushville, Wabash & Mississippi."

The people of Missouri were also awake, as is shown by the talk already of a line from St. Louis to Fayette, a point one hundred miles and more west of the Mississippi: "It is thus," declares an eastern enthusiast, "that our western brethren are supplying the links of that great chain of railroad communication which, before the end of this century, will probably be unbroken between the Atlantic sea-board and the furthest limits of habitation in the west.

The 'Atlantic & Pacific Railroad' will, one day, be the name of that splendid whole, of which the Baltimore & Ohio railroad is now one of the parts."

"We have before us," said the editor of *The Railroad Journal*, "the act to incorporate the Ashtabula, Warren & East Liverpool Railroad company. The friends of this important work, which is to connect Lake Erie with the Ohio river by a short, direct and feasible route, will be gratified to learn, by a perusal of the charter, that its provisions are liberal, and such as cannot fail to be satisfactory to capitalists who are desirous of investing their funds in the stock of the company." Despite this cheerful view, the liberal charter and the hard work of the friends of the enterprise in the west, it was not destined to be built at that time, and never under that name or along the exact line proposed.

Canada was also the theatre of various enterprises, and in March we learn that one line is proposed from Sandwich to Buffalo; one from Burlington bay, at the head of Lake Ontario, to London, and from thence to Sandwich; one from London to Lake Huron, and one from Hamilton to the Niagara river.

In Connecticut, an unique and remarkable incident is noted worthy to be recorded amid this universal desire for roads. Says the *New Haven Herald*: "The Newington folks, we are told, hearing that it was proposed to run a railroad through their town, presented a remonstrance to the directors, representing that they were a peaceable, orderly people (which in truth they are),

and begged that their quiet might not be interrupted by steam-cars and the influx of strangers. As good luck would have it, there was no occasion to contravene their wishes, the other fork being deemed preferable."

Passing hurriedly along, we learn that in Tennessee an "Improvement Act" was passed, which provided for the subscription by the state of one-third of the stock of railroads, etc. In Ohio the books of another road that was to connect the Ohio river and Lake Erie were opened, the stock being in great demand. It was estimated, "on good authority, that at this time the railroads in the United States, either actually under contract or in progress of being surveyed, amount to more than three thousand miles." Such is the demand for railroad iron in England for the American market, that common bar iron, which the year before was worth £6 10s. in Wales, is worth £9 10s. at the Welsh works; while the New York papers of that year are authority for the statement that "at this time contracts have been actually made in England by American houses for four hundred thousand tons of railroad iron to be shipped to this country." To this statement the *Pennsylvania Telegraph* adds a pertinent reflection: "£9 10s. sterling is about forty-five dollars of our money; but railroad iron costs more than common bar iron, and is at this time worth at least fifty dollars per ton at the works in Wales or Staffordshire. Four hundred thousand tons of iron, at fifty dollars per ton, is twenty millions of dollars that the people of the United States

are bound to pay to the English by their present contracts for railroad iron. If all the projected railroads of this country shall be laid down with British iron rails, we shall pay to the English nation, within the next seven years, at least *fifty millions of dollars for railroad iron*. And yet, we have in our mountains both iron ore and coal of the best quality, and in quantities sufficient to yield iron for the whole world." In Massachusetts a line from Providence to Woonsocket Falls was proposed. It was announced that the Elizabethtown & Somerville road of New Jersey would be completed within the year, and that it would eventually be extended from Somerville to Belvidere and Easton, Pennsylvania, thence to connect with the New York & Erie road. The Wilmington & Halifax road of North Carolina was formally organized. From Georgia came the news that "the Central Railroad & Banking company has lately organized, and will, no doubt, proceed forthwith to the work of a road from Savannah to this city (Macon), two hundred miles in length. The Monroe Railroad company is now progressing with their road from Macon to Forsyth, twenty-five miles. . . . Stock will be offered the first of November next for a continuation of the road from Forsyth to West Point—say eighty-five miles—there to unite with the road now in progress from Montgomery, Alabama—say ninety miles." Of an enthusiastic railroad meeting held in St. Louis, Missouri, we are told that "another project received the attention of the meeting, which is of great interest to our city (St. Louis),

and if successfully entertained will make it one of the greatest manufacturing and commercial places in the Union. We mean the projected railroad to the lead mines of Washington and Franklin counties, and iron mines in the same region of country, and eventually extending it to the rich agricultural counties in what is called the Kickapoo country." A bill authorizing the treasurer of Massachusetts to subscribe one million dollars to the Western railroad passed one branch of the legislature "by a vote so strong as to leave no doubt as to its final success." This company held a charter for a road from Worcester to West Stockbridge, forming an important link in the chain of communication between Albany and Boston. South Carolina appropriated ten thousand dollars for the survey of the Cincinnati & Charleston line, and appointed commissioners to work for the advance of the measure. The books of the Jackson & Brandon road, in Mississippi, were opened, and the local newspaper declares that "one thousand shares of one hundred dollars each were allotted to the people of Rankin county, which were taken before night on the first day."

While there were so many measures proposed for spanning the country with bands of iron, in these flush days of speculation and promise, it would have been foreign to the American character and sadly unlike mankind had there appeared nothing grotesque or fanciful among them. There were, indeed, many of the schemes advanced that were fully charged with elements of this char-

acter, but one could hardly find among them any that were quite so burdened in that regard as that long since extinct and almost forgotten corporation that for a brief season flourished and expanded under the name of "The Ohio Railroad Company." Its career so well illustrates the trend of public spirit in too many cases at the time, and its story has been so clearly and graphically related, that I cannot forbear reproducing it here. The history, as given, is from the pen of C. P. Leland, esq., the well-known auditor of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad company,* who has made a close study of railroad history and has produced a number of valuable papers thereon. His history of the enterprise is as follows:

"It may not be generally known that a determined effort was made to build a railroad substantially on the present line of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern in Ohio, fifteen years before the opening of the Cleveland & Toledo, or the Cleveland, Painesville & Ashtabula, now embraced in the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern. As a forerunner of the present corporation, it is deemed appropriate to give a permanent record to a sketch of the rise and fall of 'The Ohio Railroad Company.'

"This company was organized at a residence in Painesville, in April, 1836, to build a railroad from the Pennsylvania state line, through the northern tier of counties of Ohio, to the Maumee river,

* From the 'Tenth Annual Report of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad Company,' 1879, p. 50.

at Manhattan, then a paper city rival of Toledo, now part of it.

"In 1829, the year in which Stephenson made his triumphant trial trip with the Rocket, on the Liverpool & Manchester railway, Colonel Clinton, a civil engineer, announced his project for the Great Western railway from New York to the Mississippi river, a distance of 1,050 miles, at an estimated cost of \$15,000,000. Soon after another and a rival project was put forth to build a railroad on piles—ten feet apart—on which were to be placed planks ninety by three inches, edgewise, which supplied the tracks—no iron to be used except on the bolts and nuts necessary to fasten the planks to the piles. This road—1,050 miles—was to cost less than one million dollars! Here is the estimate made by the projector:

Right of way.....	\$532,800
Lease of mills to saw planks.....	1,850
Getting out posts.....	31,400
Bolts and nuts.....	211,200
Leveling posts and laying rails (planks)....	62,800
Setting posts and piles.....	31,400
Sawing.....	35,500
Total.....	\$906,950

"Strange as it may seem, this unique plan, with the addition of a light strap iron rail, was adopted by the Ohio Railroad company.

"The charter was extremely liberal, bestowing upon the company banking privileges, which were utilized, as will be painfully remembered by the surviving business men of that day, for the emission of three or four hundred thousand dollars of bills. As if this were not enough, the company had the benefit of the so-called 'Ohio Plunder Law,' un-

der which the state was forced to become a partner to the extent of fifty per cent. of the amount of capital stock subscribed and paid in by any railroad, turnpike or canal company. As the term 'paid in' was construed with extreme liberality, a subscriber to stock could pay therefor with a deed of his lot or farm *at his own valuation*. After going through this form, gathering in a lot of so-called assets, the officers of the company would certify to the auditor of state that so much stock had been subscribed and paid in, and demand state bonds to the extent of one-half the sum so subscribed and paid in. Of course the larger this sum the more bonds the state had to issue.

"So many schemes and projects were started under the extraordinary stimulus afforded by this law, it was foreseen that the bond mill at Columbus would break down under the demand from all sections of the state; hence the law was repealed before a very large amount was issued.* The Ohio Railroad company, however, got in its work (on the subscription book) early. Seven men, who could probably have raised with difficulty \$25,000, subscribed to the capital stock of this road to the extent of \$600,000 without the slightest hesitation, and received \$219,000 in state bonds—a dead loss to the state.

"These bonds and the currency issued by the company constituted nearly,

* The state issued bonds to	
Turnpike companies.....	\$1,637,500
Canal companies.....	377,500
Railroad companies.....	682,000
Total.....	\$2,697,000

if not quite, all the means for the prosecution of the work. Serious disagreements as to the best way to raise money broke out in the board of directors. One plan was to purchase flour with the company's notes, ship it to New York for sale, and to use the avails as a redemption fund for the notes and for exchange, which soon was worth ten per cent. premium. In 1836 the route east of Cleveland was surveyed and located. Then the directors, possibly influenced by private interests, quarreled as to where to begin the work. One party insisted that the section between Fremont and the Maumee river be constructed first, while another as strenuously insisted on beginning at Cleveland and proceeding eastward. The former plan prevailed, and the first pile was driven at Fremont, near the present Lake Shore & Michigan Southern station, June 19, 1839.

"As already stated, this road was to be built upon piles or posts. These posts were twelve to sixteen inches in diameter, and seven to twenty-eight feet long, to accommodate the inequalities in the surface of the ground. They were driven ten feet apart, and as the road was to be double track, there were four rows, or 2,112 piles per mile. Upon these piles were placed longitudinally chestnut planks or sills. Then came the cross ties, six feet apart, requiring for both tracks 1,760 per mile. On these were placed the stringers or wooden rails, eight by eight. Last of all came the iron ribbon, for it was little more than that, as the estimate provided for but twenty-five tons per mile of

double track road. That the piles were well driven is attested by the fact that many of them may be seen to-day at different points along the line. The prices in the estimated cost of the road are interesting: Iron, \$80 per ton; spikes, 9 cents per pound; white oak ties, 20 cents each; timber, \$7.00 to \$8.00 per thousand feet. The chief engineer, Cyrus Williams, estimated the cost of the entire road, 177 miles, double track, at \$2,653,676, about \$16,000 per mile.

"About one-third of the road between Cleveland and Toledo was built ready for the strap rail, but the company succumbed to the hard times which followed the wild speculative era of 1836, and in 1843 operations ceased before a single train had been placed upon the track. The child of the feverish speculative era of '36 died from exhaustion while its progenitors were quarreling as to the best method of rearing it. The whole scheme was generally regarded as visionary and wild, yet only ten years afterwards (1853) the Cleveland & Toledo railroad was opened, and was a brilliant success from the start. Had the directors of the Ohio Railroad company pushed on a little farther, laid forty or fifty miles of track and placed trains on it, thus forming a basis for selling the company's bonds, it can hardly be doubted that their road would now form a part of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern railway."

A notable event, to which we come in passing along the early days of the year under consideration (1836), is the formal opening of the Winchester &

Potomac line, in April. A large party of guests, with a band of music, was carried from Harper's Ferry to Winchester, "where their arrival was announced by a discharge of artillery, and warmly greeted by the enthusiastic acclamations of an immense multitude of spectators from the city of Winchester and the surrounding country."

In the speeches delivered upon that occasion, one gets no hint of a lessening belief in the greatness of internal improvements, or in the benefits they were destined to bring upon the land. The patriot, declares one orator, "might well be alarmed for the duration of the confederacy, did not the facilities of inter-communication keep pace with its enlargement. The railroad system is eminently calculated to quiet his fears. Though wide as the empire of the czar, the extension of this system will give to our confederacy the effectual compactness and elastic power of the little islands of Britain. If interest and social sympathy cement not our government, in vain were the declaration, 'The Union *must* be preserved.' 'It will be preserved!' echoes from the railroad conventions held amid the defiles of the Alleghany and the recesses of the western forests. This feeling vibrates through a lengthening chain of commercial parts, and rouses with a thrill of kindred enterprise the men of Charleston, Cincinnati and Chicago!"

On the sixteenth of April *The Railroad Journal* had the pleasure of announcing "the final passage through the New York senate and approval by the governor" of the bill to expedite the

construction of the New York & Erie road. "Our legislature," declared the editor, "has proved to us that the best interests of the people at large are still consulted, in spite of all the noisy bullying and artful sophistry got up on this occasion. No public work has ever been projected leading to more splendid results. The north and the south, east and west, city and country, will all share in common its benefits. Now, gentlemen of the New York & Erie Railroad company, the state has, at length, in part done its duty to the inhabitants of the southern counties, and if you are the men we have always taken you for, you will show them such a work as has never yet been seen, either for solidity of structure, rapidity of transit, or utility of purpose; and, what is still more important, executed with a promptness that shall disappoint its friends and shame its enemies. . . We do most heartily congratulate the public upon this event, so important to our city and to the whole state, and venture to predict that in less than five years the noblest railroad in the world will be in successful operation!"

A glimpse is given us, at this point, at one of the methods by which Illinois managed between 1835 and 1840 to burden herself with so great a weight of financial responsibility that her very material life was for a time in peril. When the Jacksonville & Meredosia (Illinois) railroad was projected, to extend from Jacksonville, in Morgan county, to Meredosia, on the Illinois river, a distance of twenty-six miles, it was explained that "any person owning

lands in Morgan county may subscribe for stock, one share, at least, on every forty acres, by giving a mortgage and paying six per cent. interest to the company, and the company may in turn raise money on these bonds and mortgages for the construction of the road." The arguments by which the farmers all through the country were urged to take stock in the various lines proposed in their sections, are indicated by the following, taken from the *Ashtabula Sentinel's* appeal for aid to the Ashtabula, Warren & Liverpool road: "We ought not to depend upon foreign capitalists to take up the stock. The people along the line have the means within themselves to construct the road, and it is for their interest to do so. The rise of property within a few miles of the line of the road, occasioned by its construction, will be more than sufficient to build it; and possessing advantages not equaled by any other route between the lake and the Ohio river, the stock will undoubtedly yield a handsome profit to the holders. Under these circumstances we appeal to the land-holders—to our citizens who are directly and deeply interested in the speedy completion of this important work—to come forward immediately and take up the stock, and keep the controlling power within themselves, and not suffer it to fall into the hands of foreign capitalists."

A convention was held at Knoxville, Tennessee, early in July, for the purpose of advancing the interests of the line from Cincinnati to Charleston, and was characterized throughout by the har-

mony of its deliberations. It was estimated that the enterprise would require at least nineteen million dollars. The convention unanimously determined to adopt the recommendation of the general committee, to admit the state of Georgia to construct a branch from any point in that state, to unite with the main road at or near Knoxville, admitting her to an equal participation of the advantages of the road, with the parties to the original charter.

Honorable John C. Calhoun, the great southern leader and defender of the doctrine of states' rights and nullification, made a personal examination of portions of the territory through which it was proposed that this line should run, and in the *Pendleton Messenger* publishes an extended letter covering his investigations and conclusions, in which he suggests a route, and urges a proper examination of the question in all its bearings, before any decision is made.

In this same month—July—the welcome news is published to New York that the books of the New York & Albany road will soon be open, with the added information that "the country through which the line will probably pass (which generally does not exceed twenty-five miles from the Hudson) may be compared with the rich Valley of the Mohawk, and with equal facilities for the construction of a railroad without stationary power, and on a very direct line. . . . Within the period of twelve years from this date, we (New York city) will number five hundred thousand souls. We venture little in predicting that then this road will be considered

next in importance to supply the necessities and comforts of life to the aqueduct from the Croton to supply us with water."

Toward the close of the year we are informed that "the first locomotive ever put into operation in Maine was that which commenced running, on the twenty-first ultimo, on that part of the Bangor & Piscataqua railroad just completed as far as Old Town. The vast lumber trade here and at Oronto, through both of which the road passes, makes this road one of great importance." It was announced only a few days later that the road from Adrian, Michigan, to Toledo, Ohio, was completed and that cars had commenced their regular trips upon it. "The opening was celebrated at Adrian by one hundred guns, a champagne party, toasts and other rejoicings. Well may salvos of artillery be fired in honor of such enterprises in young Michigan, yet a territory; and does much better in expending her powder in this way, as other portions of our population might, than in lauding the triumphs of some political election."

Alabama, not to be behind her neighbors, marked the opening of 1837 by issuing the charters of nine roads. In March the legislature of Louisiana found it expedient to loan a half million dollars to the New Orleans & Nashville company.

On April 3 a step was taken by Joseph Ritner, governor of Pennsylvania, which arrested somewhat, so far as that state was concerned, the headlong rush toward internal improvements. He found

it within his construction of his duty to interpose the executive veto against a bill that had passed the house entitled,

"An act further to continue and promote the improvements of the state," and which appropriated the sum of \$3,092,000. In so doing, he declared that "nothing but a firm belief that the best interests of the whole state demand it" could have induced him to do so. Could he believe that the measure was calculated "to hasten the completion and promote the usefulness of those works," it would receive his sanction, but it seemed to him that the bill was "calculated materially to retard their progress by dissipating the funds of the commonwealth upon a great variety of objects, which, however meritorious in themselves and interesting as local improvements, are not part of the main lines, but lay the foundation for a vast increase of public debt." He then gave a list of the various improvements proposed, among which were many railroads; and among the many reasons cited in proof of the wisdom of his action, the following may be quoted in brief:

"The distribution of a great portion of the present resources of the commonwealth, among works not owned by the state; it bestows on capitalists and speculators the money which is the property of the whole people, thereby enriching individuals and sections to the injury of the rest of the community; it not only thus fritters away the means which should now be otherwise applied, but, by enabling the companies who are the recipients of its liberality to

commence and prosecute works which they will not be able to complete, it embarks the state so far in those works that she will, at no distant day, be compelled to increase her present debt for the purpose of finishing them, or lose what is now proposed to be given; it will inevitably increase the state debt, in four years, to forty-five million dollars."

Two passages of this message have an important bearing at this point, as showing the advance in prices because of such extensive ventures in all directions, and the speculative spirit that had taken hold upon the people. Those paragraphs are worthy of quotation in full:

"Seventh. Its passage will have a most disastrous effect on our present undertakings. In consequence of the rise in the price of labor and provisions within the last two years, and of the amount of work commenced in other states, the expense of constructing public improvements has increased fully fifty per cent. If the present bill pass, the large amount of work authorized by it will have an additional effect of the same kind, and will cause every contract in the commonwealth to be thrown up and re-let at an advance of not less than fifty per cent. over the price of last year. This is a grave consideration. It must be borne in mind that, while the amount of public burthen is increased by this kind of legislation, the amount of means to sustain it remains the same, and that a million of debt must be paid with a million of dollars,

whether that debt is due for the construction of sixty miles of canal, or twenty.

"Eighth. Not only will its consequences be injurious to the finances, but to the morals of the state. The bare probability of the passage of the bill has already unsettled the condition of whole sections of the state, and has given a new stimulus to the over-excited spirit of speculation. If this state of things be fomented and continued, there is no limit to the injury which may result. While the gambling spirit of speculation is confined to the large towns, society may bear it without material detriment, but if it once infect and derange the productive industry of the country, the public prosperity will be shattered in its very elements. If the mania which now rages among those who speculate in the surplus property once seize those who alone render property valuable, there is an end to all hope of continued prosperity. I fear that such will be the tendency of the legislation proposed in the present bill. A few persons fortunately located or circumstanced will be unduly and immensely benefited. The mass will either become dissatisfied, or embark in a vain attempt to achieve like good fortune. While all are thus engaged murmuring or hoping at the lottery door of fortune, the plough of industry will stand idle in the furrow."

An attempt was made to pass the bill over the veto, but failed; and as the friends of the improvements would accept of no compromise measures, the

legislature adjourned *sine die*, without having passed anything at all, in the nature of a substitute.

It will be profitable, at this point, to glance more in detail at some of the railroad movements in the west, and especially at the projects that, after long years of anxiety, financial and mechanical difficulty, and of hopes deferred, became that great line—the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern. The material for such history has been gathered with commendable industry by Mr. C. P. Leland,* and upon his authority we shall depend for much in relation thereto. “In 1833,” says his account, “the then territory of Michigan, with a population of only about thirty-five thousand, incorporated a company to build a railroad from Lake Erie, at Port Lawrence (now Toledo), to the head-waters of the Kalamazoo river, giving the company the title of Erie & Kalamazoo. At that time the entire road was claimed to be in the territory of Michigan, but on the final adjustment of boundaries, after the celebrated and somewhat ludicrous Toledo war, about one-third of the road—eleven miles—was in Ohio. The track consisted of a thin iron ribbon spiked on oak stringers, and would be rejected as a street railroad now. It was opened in 1837, the motive power being horses or mules for a considerable period.

“In that year, however, the first

* “History of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railway.” By C. P. Leland. In Journal of the Association of Engineering Societies, September, 1887, p. 340.

locomotive in the tier of great states bordering on the great lakes, and the third locomotive west of the Alleghanies, arrived at Toledo on a lake vessel for this road. It was named the ‘Adrian,’ built by the Baldwin Locomotive works, and was their No. 80. Here is a copy of a local item from the *Toledo Blade*, 1837, respecting this little ten-ton locomotive; also the regular advertisement of the road, in which, it is noticeable, no time is given for the departure of the train. It left when it got ready:

“It affords us pleasure to announce the arrival of the long-expected locomotive for the Erie & Kalamazoo railroad. The business of our place has been embarrassed for want of it; goods have accumulated at our wharves faster than we could transport them into the interior on cars drawn by horses, and, as a natural consequence, several of our warehouses are now crowded to their utmost capacity. It is expected that the engine will be in operation in a few days, and then, we trust, goods and merchandise will be forwarded as fast as they arrive. A little allowance, however, must be made for the time necessary to disencumber our warehouses of the large stock already on hand.

ADVERTISEMENT.

TO EMIGRANTS AND TRAVELERS.

The Erie and Kalamazoo Railroad is now in full operation between

TOLEDO AND ADRIAN.

During the ensuing season trains of cars will run daily to Adrian, there connecting with a line of Stages for the West, Michigan City, Chicago and Wisconsin Territory.

Emigrants and others destined for Indiana, Illinois and the Western part of Michigan

~~It~~ *Will Save Two Days* ~~on~~

and the corresponding expense, by taking this route in preference to the more lengthened, tedious and expensive route heretofore traveled.

All baggage at the risk of the owners.

EDWARD BISSELL,	} Commissioners
W. P. DANIELS,	
GEORGE CRANE,	
	E. & K. R. R.
	Co.

A. HUGHES, Superintendent Western Stage Company.

"For ten years this road had a stormy and troublous existence, its affairs being managed sometimes by a commissioner acting for the board of directors, sometimes by trustees appointed by order of court, and part of the time by a receiver at the Toledo end and a commissioner at the Adrian end, recalling the familiar anecdote of the retort of the mate of a vessel to the captain, 'My end of this craft has come to anchor.' In 1848 the road was sold out under accumulated judgments. Honorable Washington Hunt of Lockport, New York, and George Bliss of Massachusetts, were the purchasers. They leased the road August 1, 1849, in perpetuity to its rival, the Michigan Southern, then in operation from Monroe to Hillsdale, and, although it forms a part of the main line of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern from Toledo westward, the Erie & Kalamazoo company still exists, drawing and dividing its rental of thirty thousand dollars per year. This first consolidation settled the struggle for supremacy between Monroe and Toledo in favor of the latter.

"In 1837 the legislature of the state of Michigan projected and made pro-

vision for three railroads and one canal or railroad, running across the four most southerly tiers of counties, which, at that time, embraced nearly all the settled part of the state. For the survey, location, construction and management of these roads, together with the improvements of certain rivers and other minor improvements, they organized a board of internal improvements and provided for a loan of five million dollars. (Nothing mean about Michigan!) Prior to this time, a number of railroad companies had been authorized to be incorporated by the territorial legislature, and three of them had made some progress in the construction of their respective roads. The oldest of them, the Detroit & St. Joseph, was nearly finished to Ypsilanti, but had not commenced running the road. The franchise, rights and property of this company were purchased by the state, and their line became a part of the Central railroad intended to run across the state through the second tier of counties. The company had expended about one hundred and seventeen thousand dollars, which amount the state paid, taking the road. The Detroit & Pontiac railroad was about completed, and although the state aided that company by a loan of one hundred thousand dollars, the company continued in possession of the road, which is now a part of the Detroit, Grand Haven & Milwaukee railroad. The Southern road was one of the projects of the state—authorized in the act of March 20, 1837. It was intended to run across the state, east and west, through the

most southerly tier of counties, from the navigable waters of the River Raisin, near Monroe, to New Buffalo, on Lake Michigan. (Chicago then was a mere Indian trading-post, with Fort Dearborn in a quagmire.) It goes without saying that in the terrible crash which followed the wild real estate boom of 1836-37, when everybody 'busted,' Michigan did not get left. She 'busted,' too, and had a couple of unfinished strap railroads for sale. The Southern road, Monroe to Hillsdale, sixty-eight miles, with the Tecumseh branch, ten miles, a total of seventy-eight miles, was sold to the Michigan Southern Railroad company, with Edwin C. Litchfield as its head, for half a million dollars. Pretty cheap, especially as the purchasers got long time, and met the installments with depreciated state scrip bought up at fifty and sixty cents on the dollar. But Michigan knew when she had enough, and about that time she was very earnestly hunting for somebody to help her let go. (In this particular she was not unlike a good many congressmen of to-day who voted for the Inter-state Commerce bill. When their constituents get at them next time it will not avail them to plead they 'didn't know it was loaded.' They ought to know that the great laws of supply and demand, and excessively severe competition, can be trusted to protect the people in this, as well as all other business.) The transfer of the Southern road was made December 23, 1846.

"The Michigan Southern company only extended to the Indiana state line, a little more than half way from Toledo,

or Monroe, to Chicago. It is an interesting fact that all the original companies lost their names except this one. 'Michigan Southern' forms part of the title to-day. The connecting road, under substantially the same (Litchfield) control, was the Northern Indiana, to which I will devote a brief space. In 1835 a member of the Indiana legislature, whose friends desired to build a railroad from La Porte to Michigan City, twelve miles, introduced a bill incorporating the 'Atlantic & Pacific Railroad.' The other members laughed at so pretentious a name, when he, after much argument, came down to 'Buffalo & Mississippi' as the title for his twelve mile road, and said he 'would not yield another mile.' So 'Buffalo & Mississippi' was the title adopted. The incorporators met at the house of Colonel Stephen Downing, in Elkhart, May 25, 1835, and passed a resolution of inquiry, directed to the secretary of war, as to what steps, if any, had been taken regarding a survey of the railroad route from Maumee bay to the Mississippi, under a recent resolution of the United States senate. In February, 1837 (the year of our first great financial revulsion), the company was organized and the following named gentlemen made directors: Robert Stewart (president), William Barber, Aaron Streeter, John B. Niles and John Brown. In the *Toledo Weekly Blade* of 1837 may be found the following advertisement:

TO CONTRACTORS:

Notice is hereby given that the grading of the Buffalo & Mississippi railroad for a double track between Michigan City and La Porte, a distance of twelve miles, will be let at public outcry to the low-

est bidder, at La Porte, on Monday, the fourteenth day of June next.

The maps, profiles and estimates of the route will be ready for examination at the engineer's office in La Porte after the first of June.

R. STEWART, president.

MICHIGAN CITY, April 28, 1837.

"As the official record shows that this work was let on the day named, and names of contractors, prices, etc., stated, and as the records show considerable complaint by the contractors as to heavy discount on the company's scrip, it puzzled me for a time to ascertain where the contractors put in any work on this twelve miles; but Judge Niles of La Porte clears it up as follows: 'The location of the road (La Porte to Chicago, *via* Michigan City) was very injudicious, having steep grades and requiring heavy work. About one mile through the woods west of and near La Porte was cleared and partly graded, and can still be seen. Some excavating was also done near the summit, six miles northwest from La Porte, and a strip was cleared through the heavy timber near to Michigan City.' But under the pressure of the hard times the whole enterprise had to succumb. In 1838 may be found the following quaint resolution of the board:

"*Resolved*, That all operations on the road east of Goshen be suspended until the corps under the direction of Mr. Hardenberg be sufficiently recruited in health to again enter the field, and that they then proceed to locate that part of the road from Goshen to the eastern line of the state.'

"It may be remembered that 1838 was the dreadful year of sickness and

hard times. This enterprise had the life so completely knocked out of it that, during the eight years from 1839 to 1847, even the routine of annual election was neglected.*"

Returning to the east, and to 1837, we find other evidence that the work of railroad construction still goes forward, by reference to the following from the *Fredericksburgh* (Virginia) *Arena* of November, 1837: "There is no part of our duty more agreeable than to note the progress of the great works of our country, and we may say none that requires more watchfulness and care. So astonishing has been the progress of the spirit of improvement, that a journal, devoted to the subject exclusively, could hardly keep up with its march. Between the first broaching of the idea of a given work and its completion, so short a time is permitted to elapse that all the country is not informed of the projected improvement before it is announced that it is in successful operation. We could specify many instances of this kind—we content ourselves, however, by referring to the Richmond & Fredericksburgh railroad. Within little more than a year from the period at which the scheme was first presented to the public, a *reconnaissance* of the route was made, a charter obtained, the stock taken, the company organized and a portion of the work placed under contract. The work was completed within two years from the day the first

* Mr. Leland's history, of course, carries the great line of which he writes much beyond the years cited above; but only these days of beginning bear relation to the era which we have now under consideration.

ground was broken, notwithstanding the unusual severity of the three last winters. When we take into consideration the length of the road—sixty-one miles—and the heavy works required on a large portion of the route, we may safely say no public improvement in the United States has been carried on with more vigor and success. It has already, in the first year of its operation, and notwithstanding some adverse circumstances, yielded a handsome dividend, and we believe there are but few now who are persuaded that the maximum of dividend—fifteen per cent.—will be attained within a very short period. The road, in its connection, progress, completion and management, reflects credit on all concerned.

“Passing from the work at our own door, and casting our eyes to the south, we see Richmond and Petersburg just on the point of being united, and thus affording a continuous road from Fredericksburgh to the Roanoke. From Norfolk we see a road of eighty miles—running to the Roanoke—in successful operation. The Louisa road is, in part, to be put in operation forthwith. The North Carolina, the Gaston & Raleigh road, a promulgation of the Petersburg & Roanoke road, is vigorously prosecuted, whilst another road, almost as long, is nearly completed, by which Wilmington will be connected with the Norfolk and Roanoke improvement. In South Carolina we behold a company, fully organized, just undertaking the most magnificent work of the age, a road of nearly six hundred miles in length, reaching from a point

on the Charleston & Augusta road to the Ohio river. How visionary was this project deemed only eighteen months since, and yet it will be fully realized in less than seven years. The steps taken by the company indicate an intention of prosecuting the work with the greatest energy. Wherever railroads have been commenced in the south, there have been displayed a zeal and activity truly surprising—a combination of southern pluck and northern bottom. We are highly gratified at these evidences of the enterprise and activity of our countrymen. They have done more in ten years than all the hard money governments of Europe in the last ten centuries. We rejoice at every mile of road or canal that is completed, as adding to the ties of union, developing the resources of the country and increasing its military defences.”

From the report of a meeting of the directors of the then called Louisville, Cincinnati & Charleston Railroad company, held at Lexington, Kentucky, on August 27, 1838, we learn further as to the progress of railroad construction in that portion of the south. From an extended report submitted by the president, Robert Y. Hayne, the following main facts are gleaned: That banking privileges had been conferred upon the company by the states of North and South Carolina and Tennessee, and that measures had been adopted for putting the bank into operation early in the winter; that the state of South Carolina had subscribed a million of dollars to the road, and had guaranteed a loan of two millions more; to effect

which, General James Hamilton had proceeded to Europe; that Tennessee had subscribed six hundred and fifty thousand dollars to the road; and that the amount of public and private subscriptions exceeded eight millions of dollars, including two millions taken by the stockholders in the Charleston & Hamburg railroad, according to the terms of the contract with that company. It further appeared that, in conformity with the direction of the stockholders at their last general meeting, the Charleston & Hamburg railroad (extending from Charleston to Augusta, in Georgia, a distance of one hundred and thirty-six miles) had been purchased, and was in course of rapid improvement—the road, in its entire extent, with the exception of a few miles which would shortly be finished, having been embanked, and a new and improved iron having already been laid down for upwards of one hundred miles, and the balance of the new iron having been ordered from Europe. It appeared that, although these extensive improvements had necessarily been made at an expense considerably exceeding the present receipts, yet that the business and income of the road were very large, and constantly increasing. The receipts exceeded one thousand dollars a day, and the traveling, on an average, exceeding one hundred passengers daily.

It further appeared that the main track of the Charleston & Ohio road, leading toward the mountains, had been laid off from a point on the Charleston & Hamburg road, sixty-two miles from

Columbia, the capital of the state, sixty-five miles further; and that contracts had been made for the execution of the work, which was going on rapidly and successfully. Surveys had been executed along the whole line from Charleston to Lexington, and it had been ascertained that the mountains could be passed with locomotives at grades less than had been adopted on other roads, and that no serious obstacles were presented to the construction of the work on any part of the line.

A memorial was presented from subscribers in the neighborhood of Covington and Newport, in Kentucky, setting forth that, in consequence of the alteration in the charter, by which the company was relieved from the branch extending from Lexington to the Ohio river, in the direction of Cincinnati, they had determined to apply their funds, at the proper time, to the building of that branch, for which charters were already obtained. It was ordered by the directors that such stockholders should be permitted to withdraw their funds, in accordance with their expressed wish.

In June, 1839, comes the announcement that "one more link of the railroads running west" is finished—the Auburn & Syracuse being completed. A line is opened about the same time in the island of Cuba, from Havana to Guines, a distance of forty-five miles, the captain-general of the island opening it "with appropriate solemnities, which served to quiet the apprehensions which were excited by this

mode of communication, with a rapidity to which the Spanish population were so little accustomed."

This rapid survey of the various movements in America has brought us to the edge of the year 1840, and before passing beyond that point, or to the discussion of another branch of our theme, some information in the way of a summary, from one able by technical knowledge and thorough investigation to speak by authority, may be given. The most complete and intelligent survey of the American railroads that had yet been made, is that which, for a year and a half prior to this period, had been conducted by a distinguished foreign engineer and author, F. A. Chevalier de Gerstner, the builder of some of the most important railway lines on the European continent. The results of these observations were summed up in a report of unusual value. Leaving New York, he inspected the lines between Albany and Lake Erie, then those of New England, and afterwards proceeded to Philadelphia, Baltimore and the south as far as New Orleans, and thence through the western states and home by the way of Pennsylvania. In the course thereof he said: "According to the facts collected during my travels since my arrival in New York, there are now over three thousand miles of railroads now completed and in operation in the United States; four hundred and twenty-five locomotives; of which the greatest number were made in this country, run on the several railroads, and I believe up to the end of 1839 the

length of railroads in the United States may amount to forty-one hundred miles. The capital expended on the railroads now in operation is about sixty millions of dollars, or an average cost of about twenty thousand dollars per mile, for which sum the railroads, with the buildings, have been constructed and the necessary locomotives and cars bought.

"Several railroads have been undertaken with insufficient means, and the shareholders found themselves under the necessity of employing the income of the first years in improving the railroad, in building engine-houses, etc., and purchasing locomotives and cars. In consequence of this, the shareholders got, during that time, no dividends, but the railroad still yielded a good income. Other railroads, when finished, paid from five to ten per cent. income to the stockholders; others have not yet paid any dividends for want of a sufficient number of passengers and freight. The *average* result of the railroads now in operation in the United States is that they give a yearly interest of five and a half per cent. on the capital invested. This must be regarded as very satisfactory, because the greatest part of the lines have only been a few years in operation. On all lines there is a yearly increase of at least fifteen or twenty per cent. in the gross income, so that even those lines which do not pay now will give, in a few years, a handsome dividend. According to these statements, based on the communications collected in this country, I have no doubt that the large capital invested in railroads in the United States will

not only produce an incalculable benefit to the country but likewise pay the stockholders a dividend, which, under good management, by the constant progress in population and trade, must likewise from year to year increase."

We will next invite attention to the development of the mechanical department of the railroad before carrying the general history beyond the years above described.

J. H. KENNEDY.

[To be continued.]

THE RAILROAD MEN OF AMERICA.

HUGH J. JEWETT.

THE name of Hugh J. Jewett will be forever connected with the railroad history of America, not only because of the high position he held during troubled and trying times as the head of a great system, but for the qualities of courage, financial and executive genius, and conspicuous devotion to justice and right, by him therein displayed. That chapter of "Erie," in which his record is written, has never been duplicated in the record of any railroad corporation; and his successful efforts to meet villainy and beat it at every turn, and the triumphs of law and justice by him achieved, have done much to discourage like schemes upon the part of others. It was no fortunate chance by which he was selected for the great work he was to perform, as his past record was such as to designate him as the one man of all others to perform it, and the results gave justification to that choice.

Mr. Jewett was born in Harford county, Maryland, and until he was sixteen years of age lived with his parents upon the home farm, "Lansdowne," and in the same house which is now his summer home—working

on the farm as his services were demanded, and attending school, as occasion offered, in a small school building located on his father's farm. He was afterwards favored with two years at Hopewell academy, in Pennsylvania, after which he commenced the study of law in the office of Colonel John C. Groome, in Elkton, Cecil county, Maryland. He was admitted to the bar in 1838, and immediately became a part in the great tide of emigration setting in toward the west, feeling that in that direction the best chances in his profession for a young man were then offered. He first found a location in St. Clairsville, Ohio, where he remained until 1848, when, believing that Zanesville, of the same state, offered a wider field for his expanding powers, he removed to that city, where he continued to reside until his removal to the capital of the state. In both St. Clairsville and Zanesville he won unqualified success in his profession, and saw the way to the highest honors of public life opening before him, should he but elect to follow in that ambitious path. He was called to service in

both houses of the state legislature, and made therein a record that showed the sound timber of which he was made, and foreshadowed somewhat the sterling honesty and unflinching courage so conspicuous in the larger affairs of later years. When a member of the senate, he assumed and maintained the position that an adjourned session of the legislature was but an evasion of the provisions of the then newly adopted state constitution; and held his point with such vigor, aided by others of a like honesty of purpose, that that legislature has the conspicuous honor of being the only one which has assembled under the new constitution, which has not had an adjourned session. Subsequently, Mr. Jewett was a member of the lower house of the same body, which adjourned over until the next winter, as had become the custom, to hold substantially a second session under the one election. When any question came up which Mr. Jewett regarded as of interest to his constituents, or of special import to the people at large, he attended the sessions, but declined to receive, and never did receive, any compensation for his services in that session of the legislature—adhering to the position that in receiving such money he would be going contrary to the spirit of the constitution.

Another office of public honor held by Mr. Jewett, was that of district attorney for the southern district of Ohio, to which he was appointed by President Franklin Pierce. The duties of this important trust were fully and faithfully performed. He was appointed a delegate to the National Democratic convention that had for its purpose the renomination of General

Pierce or the selection of his successor as the standard-bearer of the party. When President Pierce determined to be a candidate for renomination, Mr. Jewett was anxious to do all that he could honorably in his aid; but not finding it within his sense of the fitness of things to support for renomination one at whose hands he held an appointment to office, he resigned his district attorneyship.

In 1860 Mr. Jewett was the nominee of the Democrats of the Zanesville district for congress; and, although he was defeated, he came within sixty votes of an election, although the ticket upon which he ran was defeated by some twelve or fifteen hundred. In 1861, when the Democrats of Ohio were looking about for their strongest man to use as a gubernatorial candidate, all eyes were turned toward Mr. Jewett; and in the State convention, held on August 7, he was nominated on the first ballot, by a vote of 295½ as against 75 for William Allen and 15½ for Stanley Matthews, now upon the United States supreme bench. The resolutions adopted by that convention were not satisfactory to Mr. Jewett, and his inclination was to decline the nomination. He was, however, induced by friends of both parties to accept, lest his declination and the nomination of another might result in some disturbances in the state. He accepted, finally, but upon his own platform; and in his letter of acceptance stated that, if elected, he would labor to strengthen the arm of the government in its conflict with those who were in rebellion against its authority. That letter shows his undeviating loyalty and support of the government, as the following ex-

pressive sentences, taken therefrom, most clearly show: "In one section of the country," he declares, "a rebellion exists—the laws of the land are put at defiance—the Union of the states ignored—the Constitution set aside, and another, at once the offspring of and apology for this rebellion, sought to be substituted in its stead. In the prosecution of their designs, the parties instigating and leading this rebellion have seized upon the property of the government, driven its officers and soldiers from their posts of duty, and by armed violence have sought to humiliate our flag and to overawe the government. . . . I would in no way weaken the arm of the government, in no way impair the efficiency of our army, but, on the contrary, as a matter of economy as well as humanity, I would impart vigor and energy to both, and with every peace-offering that should be the alternative of war or submission.

"Under no circumstances would I consent to a dissolution of the Union, or consider terms of separation."

As a matter of course, in the state of public feeling and the conditions then existing, the ticket was defeated. Yet Mr. Jewett was almost immediately given a new pledge of the confidence and respect of his party, being named for the United States senate in the election just following, by the Democrats of the legislature, and receiving their votes for that office. In the prosecution of the War for the Union, Mr. Jewett was an efficient worker upon the stump as elsewhere, being designated by Governor Todd, in company with Rufus P. Ranney, Henry B. Payne and other war Demo-

crats, to canvass the state and work public sentiment up to the required point.

Having made a removal of his residence to Columbus, the state capital, Mr. Jewett was, in 1873, elected to congress from that district; but during his term was elected president of the Erie Railroad company, and resigned his seat to assume the duties of that position. In later years, and after his noble efforts in the cause of justice and the law in connection with the Erie had been crowned with success and made him an enduring fame throughout the land, he was more than once named in connection with high office, and even the highest within the people's gift—especially in the Democratic National convention of 1880—it being well felt that one who had been so brave and faithful a steward in connection with one great trust, could safely be entrusted with another.

Mr. Jewett, in his early days of active labor in Ohio, was connected with the material prosperity of the state in various ways—at one time being president of the Muskingum Branch bank, and also a member of the board of control of the State Bank of Ohio. His connection with railroads commenced in 1857, when he was elected president of the Central Ohio Railroad company; and successively thereafter, of the Cincinnati & Muskingum Valley Railroad company; of the Little Miami Railroad company; of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railroad company; of the Chicago & Atlantic Railroad company, and vice-president of the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & St. Louis Railroad company, many of which positions he held when, in 1874, he accepted and assumed the duties of the presidency of the Erie Railroad

company. It was in the latter great position in which his chief railroad labor was performed; and the story of his work therein is of such great interest, and has so much to do with the railroad history of America, that it deserves to be related in full.

It was in July, 1874, that Mr. Jewett was chosen to the presidency of the company. The Erie from the first had been heavily weighted in the race with rivals. Pennsylvania favored and fostered her great line. The Baltimore & Ohio was the pet and protégé of Maryland. Whatever legislative care New York had to give, she reserved for her canals. Apart from lack of state aid the Erie suffered from internal weaknesses. Frequent changes of administration unsettled its policy and checked the growth, invaluable to a corporation of permanent methods and continuous traditions. While the Pennsylvania was under one rule for twenty-three years, the Baltimore & Ohio for twenty and the New York Central for fourteen, the Erie had in the shortest of those periods seven presidents, with attending mutations of boards, officers, theories and systems. Its immense capital stock, offering investors no dividends, fell a prize to foreign speculators and proxy peddlers. The two stronger New York and Pennsylvania companies between which its line lay fought their battles over its shoulders, forcing it into varying and always ruinous alliances. Spite of these burdens, the Erie was always an imperial property, and by reason of them it invited spoliation. It was a treasure-ship beset by pirates, and often manned by traitors.

In 1874 the company had just escaped from a government of rank scoundrelism, to fall under one of well-meaning nullity. It was dominated for the moment by James McHenry, a reckless international swindler, who tricked like Robert Macaire, and talked as Ananias would have done if there had been a stock exchange in Judea.

After eviscerating the Atlantic & Great Western company, he had bound its carcass on the back of Erie, and was at the time busied with a gang of London plunderers in selling twenty-five millions of Erie bonds and accounting for less than one-half of their par value.

Wholly unaware, when he took control, of these difficult conditions and disastrous complications, Mr. Jewett faced them resolutely when revealed. He shook off the Great Western incubus and took McHenry by the throat, throwing him and his confederates into the English courts, where, after some years, judgments were rendered against the chief for over a million and a half, while the accomplices gladly escaped exposure by payment of heavy sums in compromise. In pronouncing his decree, the master of the rolls branded McHenry's conduct and character with such stinging words as an English judge rarely permits himself to use.

Reconstruction necessarily followed; and in the course of the foreclosure proceedings which led to it, and in the development and application of the plan which completed it, Mr. Jewett, as receiver, held relations to the creditors, the stock-holders and the reorganizers of the company, which tested to the utmost his judgment,

energy, prudence and patience. Even a peaceable solution of the situation offered problems of the highest difficulty and delicacy. But every step encountered vehement opposition, sustained openly in the courts by the best legal talent, and covertly by slanderous abuse in the press. It was life or death to McHenry, who found no tool too low, no practice too base to grasp at. And when, after three years of desperate struggle, he retired defeated and the new corporation stood solidly founded, Mr. Jewett had won an honorable name as a leader, for courage, justice and power, among the great railroad managers of the country.

The sagacious and far-reaching plans for the restoration of the Erie company to its rightful place among the railroads of the country, which, during his receivership, Mr. Jewett projected with the consent and aid of the courts, he was enabled to expand and mature through the restored credit and public confidence that upheld the new corporation after he assumed its presidency. First of all he assured its stability by securing control for a term of years over its voting stock, and by obtaining legislation, then first granted in New York state, giving bond-holders also, through their votes, a share in its government.

Steadiness of policy and continuity in management being thus established, the next step was to improve the physical character of the machine to be operated. The broad gauge, inflicted on Erie by old-fashioned engineering ideas, hampered its work, doubling the cost of transfers and traffic connections. Its track was now brought into union with the general rail-

road system of the country, by laying an intermediate rail, retaining the old gauge also, until the equipment fitted to it should be worn out. The construction of this vital improvement was so skillfully managed that its heavy cost did not fall as a burden on the current revenues of the company.

Skirting the immense mineral deposits of Pennsylvania, the Erie is preëminent as a coal carrier. To enlarge its revenues from this source, by striking with new branches into the mining regions, and, further, to economize its fuel consumption through the ownership of coal properties had been the judicious scheme of an earlier administration. As the uncompleted project devolved upon Mr. Jewett, it was crushed by debt and tied up in legal embarrassments. In a few years his firm and steady management lifted the burden of debt from the enterprise, confirmed the company's control in strict accordance with Pennsylvania law, and consolidated and developed a splendid mining interest, richly tributary to its revenue. To this interest he afterwards added the Blossburg property and connected railways, bought in part with the Grand Opera house, thus exchanging a white elephant for black diamonds.

Meanwhile other enlargements of its capacity placed the road in a position to demand its full share of carrying trade from the granaries, ore beds and forests of the west. Full control was gained of the Union Steamboat company, placing under the Erie's command the finest fleet and best established business on the lakes; costly grain elevators were built at Buffalo and Jersey City; docks were pre-

pared for the coal trade at its lake outlet, and a large property fronting upon New York harbor was acquired and improved for the uses of live stock business.

During the period thus devoted to increasing the earning power of the road at points urgently demanding expansion, plans had not been neglected for strengthening its position through alliances with other companies. A few years after reorganization these had become developed in the form of essential connections. A new and advantageous lease was taken of the old Atlantic & Great Western, now the New York, Pennsylvania & Ohio road; control was gained of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton, leading to Cincinnati, and the project of a great tributary, the Chicago & Atlantic, took form and completion. So that within five years from the date of the creation of the new company, Mr. Jewett had succeeded, by the extension of its system of connections, in placing it in as commanding a position as that held by any of the great trunk lines, with regard to all important centres of business, except Saint Louis. within its natural territory, by means of an outlay of money very much less than that expended by other companies.

Even this outlay, however, could not have been afforded without some decrease of the company's fixed financial burdens. This was attained in part through the rejection or amendment of onerous contracts, and in a still greater degree by the extension, at lower rates of interest, of the three series of old mortgage bonds falling due during Mr. Jewett's term of office. The economy thus effected, of close upon a quarter of a million in the yearly drain

upon revenue, sensibly raised the credit of the company.

The mere statement of these results fails to convey any idea of the bold action, the sharp conflicts, the trials to patience, that attended their realization. The gravest strike known to our railroad history, that of 1877, fell heavily upon the Erie company. The fiercest war of rates the railroads ever waged, that of 1882, checked its prosperous course for a time. Self-defense forced costly litigation with the Delaware & Lackawanna company in 1881; and throughout the whole, beginning with the creation of the company and urged to the present hour, persisted the clamorous, peremptory, unreasoning demands of English stock-holders for instant returns upon their investments. The road may stop growing and thus cease earning, but they must have full interest on the par of what they buy for less than half.

Spite of these discouragements, Mr. Jewett devoted himself, at the sacrifice of health and comfort, to the task he had assumed, until he had lifted the Erie company from bankruptcy and prostration to an equal rank with that of any of the great corporations of the country. And after five years of his presidency, the market price of the company's new bonds had doubled; its common stock had risen from eleven to fifty; its preferred stock had earned three dividends, and its gross revenue had grown from less than sixteen millions in 1869 to nearly twenty-three millions in 1883.

It is not surprising that the continuous strain of such labors should have seriously impaired Mr. Jewett's health, which was

little benefited by a visit to Europe, undertaken in the interest of the company. A severe accident befalling him in 1875, forbade active exercise, and the resulting confinement, added to assiduous office work, withdrew him much from society. It was unfortunate that he thus lost the opportunity of cultivating close relations with leaders in finance in the city. After the death of the company's strongest supporter, Governor Morgan, early in 1883, the want of such connection was seriously felt, and much of the embarrassment that the company underwent in the last year of his

term may be traced to this involuntary isolation. He resigned the presidency in November, 1884, after completing the period of ten years intended in his own mind when he accepted it.

We have devoted much space to this sketch of Mr. Jewett's connection with the Erie company, because his best powers at the prime of life were engrossed by its charge, and because that chapter of its history forms an interesting part of the railroad annals of the country, while full justice has never been done to his share in it.

MAJOR JOHN WILSON.

James Wilson, an engineer and architect of Stirling, Scotland, left three sons: James, who was a planter in the island of Jamaica; Alexander, who settled as a merchant at Norfolk, Virginia, where some of his descendants are now residing; and John, who held a commission as lieutenant in the Seventy-first British foot (Highlanders), but served throughout the American Revolutionary war as an engineer under Major Moncrief of the Royal Engineers. He was severely wounded at the siege of Charleston, South Carolina, where he remained until the close of the war, having shortly previous thereto married a daughter of Dr. Robert Wilson, a prominent physician of that place. Lieutenant Wilson, some years after his marriage, was invalided and took up his residence at Stirling, where he died in the year 1798, leaving four children, among whom was John, the subject of this sketch. His widow, with her family, re-

turned to Charleston, her native place, in 1807.

John Wilson received the early part of his education at Stirling, but completed his studies at the University of Edinburgh, where he attended the classes of Professors Playfair, Leslie and Walker, who, upon his leaving Scotland, gave him kind and strong testimonials for character and ability.

Soon after his arrival at Charleston he entered upon the business of engineer and surveyor, most of which at that time consisted in the surveys of plantations and tracts of land. Among the matters engaging his attention was the execution of a map of South Carolina, under engagement with the state authorities, which is considered to this day standard authority for all but subsequent improvements. At an early period he was naturalized as a citizen of the United States, and when the war with Great Britain occurred in 1812, he

volunteered his services to the city as an engineer for the construction of works of defense. How those services were performed will be shown by the following copy of resolutions adopted by the city council after the close of the war:

"State of South Carolina,
"City of Charleston.

"WHEREAS, during the late war with Great Britain, a board of commissioners was constituted by the city council to superintend the erection of the works of defense on Charleston Neck, in coöperation with Major-General Pinckney of the United States army, which board of commissioners did, with patriotic zeal and assiduity, sacrifice their personal ease and interests to the public welfare, and, as well in the construction of the line of fortifications as in the subsequent erection of a public arsenal, justified the confidence reposed in them, and faithfully and meritoriously served their country. And whereas the time has arrived when all the objects of their appointment being accomplished, the said board of commissioners are about to be dissolved, and some expression of public feeling is due towards those whose patriotic labors afford at once a permanent barrier of the city, and an honorable memorial to themselves, therefore,

"Resolved unanimously by the intend-ant and wardens in city council assembled, that the thanks of the city of Charleston are due, and they are hereby presented, to the gentlemen composing the board of commissioners of fortifications.

"Resolved unanimously that John Wilson, esquire, of this city, who, in the capacity of engineer, volunteered his services in planning and constructing the said works

of defense, and displayed in that arduous employment much scientific skill and personal disinterestedness, deserves well of the city of Charleston.

"Resolved that the intend-ant be requested to enclose and address the above resolutions to the chairman of the board of commissioners, and to John Wilson, esq., and that certified copies of the same be sent to each member of the board of commissioners.

{ City
Seal. }

"Given under my hand and the seal of the corporation, this first day of July, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, and in the fortieth year of American independence.

"ELIAS HORRY, Intendant.

"By the Intendant,

"G. M. BONNETHEAU,
"Clerk of Council."

In April, 1816, John Wilson received from the secretary of war, without solicitation, a commission as major in the corps of United States topographical engineers, which he accepted with the understanding that he would be employed on the coast survey; in fact, he received written instructions to that effect. In consequence, however, of the plans of the government not being sufficiently matured, or of a want of proper understanding between the departments, he subsequently received orders from General Jackson, at that time commanding the southern division of the army, to report at headquarters, Nashville, Tennessee. This change of duties not conforming to his expectations, he tendered his resignation in September following.

In December, 1817, the legislature of South Carolina established a board of public works and created the office of civil and military engineer of the state, which was filled by the appointment of Major Wilson in February, 1818. The objects which then engaged the attention of the board were the construction and repairs of the arsenals, court-houses, jails and other buildings belonging to or required by the state, and the improvement of the rivers for navigation. In performing the arduous duties attendant upon the latter branch of the service, Major Wilson contracted fever and ague, the severe attacks of which compelled him to resign his position in 1822. By spending the summers in a northern climate, his health was so far restored that he was enabled to attend to the business of his profession during the winter months in South Carolina. This condition of affairs, however, not being satisfactory, he removed his family, in 1826, to Philadelphia, which he adopted as his permanent residence.

The subject of internal improvements was beginning, at that time, to excite considerable attention in Pennsylvania, and an extensive system of surveys was inaugurated by the state government. To Major Wilson was assigned, in the summer of 1827, the duty of examining a route for a canal between the Schuylkill and Susquehanna rivers, through the counties of Chester and Lancaster, with instructions to report upon the expediency of constructing a railroad should the canal be deemed impracticable or unadvisable.

The difficulties of maintaining a canal through a limestone region with a scant

supply of water, taken in connection with recent developments in favor of railroads, induced Major Wilson to report against the adoption of a canal and to recommend the construction of a railroad.

An act of the legislature, approved March 24, 1828, authorized and directed the canal commissioners to locate and contract for the construction of certain canals, and to locate a railroad from Philadelphia, through the city of Lancaster, to Columbia, on the eastern bank of the Susquehanna river.

In April, 1828, Major Wilson commenced, at Columbia, the location of the railroad between that place and Philadelphia, with the following corps: Joshua Scott, principal assistant; Robert Pettit and John Edgar Thomson, assistant engineers; John P. Baily, Samuel W. Mifflin, William Hasell Wilson and I. Brinton Moore, rodmen; William J. Lewis, William W. Torbert, Joseph G. Davis and A. S. Green, chainmen—the last named of whom soon left the service and was succeeded by James Moore. The only survivors of this corps in 1888 are William Hasell Wilson, late chief engineer Pennsylvania railroad, and now president of the Philadelphia & Erie and some other railroads controlled by the Pennsylvania Railroad company, and James Moore, for some time chief engineer and general superintendent, and subsequently consulting engineer of the Central Railroad of New Jersey. Several of the above named became well known in after life; Robert Pettit, after some years' service as an engineer, entered the United States navy, where he rose to the rank of pay director; John Edgar Thomson be-

came the distinguished chief engineer and president of the Pennsylvania Railroad company; John P. Baily served during the years 1836, 1837 and 1838 as chief engineer of the state of Pennsylvania; Samuel W. Mifflin had a large professional experience, being at one time chief engineer of the Huntingdon & Broad Top railroad; William J. Lewis, after being engaged for some years on various roads in the eastern states, removed to California, where he practiced his profession during the latter part of his life.

The location of the Philadelphia & Columbia railroad was made in the year 1828, and the construction commenced in the year following. For want of liberal appropriations by the state, work progressed slowly for some time, but the road was completed with double track in 1834.

The passage of a law, authorizing the construction of this railroad by the commonwealth, met with serious opposition, and even after work had been commenced, it was for some time doubtful whether the project would not be abandoned. Under these circumstances, it was urged by the friends of the enterprise that as much economy should be used in the construction as was consistent with a due regard to the utility of the road when completed. Previous to the commencement of the location, it was necessary for the engineer to determine upon the governing principles, and in deciding upon these, recourse was had to the experience gained upon works of a similar kind in operation. It must be observed that this was in the year 1828, previous to the opening of the Liverpool & Manchester railway,

when there were but few railways in use and these of limited extent, with characteristics that at this day would be considered very crude. For some years previous, attention had been given to the subject of locomotive steam-engines, but the question of their adoption as a motive power, for general traffic upon railroads, was not definitely settled until October, 1829, when all doubts were removed by the successful results of the competitive trials upon the Liverpool & Manchester railway. The location of the Philadelphia & Columbia railroad had, however, been made previous to that date, with a view to the use of horse-power, and the work of construction was in progress. By the time of its completion, in 1834, the rapid developments in the use of locomotive steam-engines had so fully demonstrated their superiority as a motive power, that they were introduced upon the road and the use of horses gradually discontinued.

While, for the reasons stated, the location was not as bold as would now be considered advisable, yet it was judiciously and skillfully made, and the work substantially executed. It must be remembered that at the time this road was constructed railroad science was in its infancy, and that the condition of the leading railroads of the present day is the result of a continued series of trials and experiments, extending over a period of more than fifty years. It is believed that there are but few contemporary roads that could compare with the Philadelphia & Columbia railroad, in either design or execution.

During the year 1830, the work on the

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W Hasell Wilson

1861

road being nearly at a stand for want of appropriations, Major Wilson, with the consent of the canal commissioners, transferred the larger portion of his corps to New Jersey and made the location of the Camden & Amboy railroad. In the winter of 1832 his health became so impaired that, in the hope of deriving benefit from a southern climate, he proceeded to Florida and Cuba, but died in the harbor of Matanzas, on board of the vessel upon which he had embarked, homeward bound, in the hope of being

able to spend his last days with his family. As a man of fine ability, indefatigable industry and sterling integrity, Major Wilson's reputation was widely extended, while his amiable disposition and courteous and affable bearing won him the esteem of all who knew him. The work upon the railroad above described, which was well advanced at the time of his death—on February 27, 1833—was completed in the following year, according to the original plans.

WILLIAM HASELL WILSON.

William Hasell Wilson, son of Major John Wilson and Eliza Gibbes his wife, daughter of William Hasell Gibbes of Charleston, South Carolina, and his wife Elizabeth Allston, who was a half-sister of Washington Allston, painter and poet, was born at Charleston, November 5, 1811. He went to school at an early age, and took the English and classical courses, that were at that time considered essential as a foundation for a liberal education. He was a pupil of the Reverend Doctor Dickson, when he was appointed to a professorship in the Charleston college, upon its re-organization about the year 1823, and was transferred with most of Doctor Dickson's scholars to that institution, where he remained until the removal of his father's family from Charleston, in May, 1825. In November of that year he returned with his father to Charleston (the rest of the family remaining in Philadelphia), and resumed his position at the college.

In the spring of 1826 he left Charleston finally, pursuing his studies during the summer, as he had done in the preceding year, at the academy of Morristown, New Jersey, where the family spent the summer months of both years, returning in October to Philadelphia, which thenceforth became their permanent residence.

The high school of the Franklin institute had been, a short time previously, organized on the Lancastrian or monitorial system, with Mr. Walter R. Johnson as principal, at which, in November, 1826, W. H. Wilson took the position of tutor, being one of eight, among whom were included the late George L. Harrison, Charles Gilpin and John Warder, subsequently Doctor Warder of North Bend, Ohio. He remained at this school until June, 1827, when he joined as a volunteer the engineer corps then organized under his father for canal and railroad surveys through Chester and Lancaster counties, having for associates the late John Edgar

Thomson and Robert Pettit, the former of whom subsequently became chief engineer and president of the Pennsylvania Railroad company, and the latter, pay director in the United States navy. From the time of closing the surveys in the autumn, until the following spring, he pursued the studies of mathematics and drawing in Philadelphia.

In March, 1828, a large engineer corps was organized for the location of the Philadelphia & Columbia railroad, in which W. H. Wilson served as rodman. During the years 1829 and 1830 he held the position of assistant engineer, in charge of construction on the eastern section of the road, the state having had twenty miles of roadway at each end of the line placed under contract. By the close of the year 1830, public opinion had become much more favorable towards the construction of the railroad, and the legislature, at their following session, made a large appropriation, and directed a vigorous prosecution of the work. Early in the year 1831 the grading and bridging of the middle portion of the road, as well as the superstructure on the eastern section, were placed under contract. The road was then divided into two parts, designated as eastern and western divisions, and the charge of the work on the former, comprising the forty miles westward from Philadelphia, was entrusted to W. H. Wilson, as principal assistant engineer, which position he held until its completion and the disbandment of the engineer corps in October, 1834. During the ensuing winter he made surveys for a proposed line of railroad between Downingtown, on the line of the Penn-

sylvania railroad, and the city of Reading. In the spring of 1835 he took charge, as principal assistant engineer under Messrs. Moncure and Wirt Robinson, of the final location and construction of the second division of the Philadelphia & Reading railroad, extending from a point a few miles east of Pottstown to Norristown. In June, 1838, the work under his care being nearly completed, he accepted from the canal commissioners the appointment of chief engineer of the "Gettysburgh Extension" of the state railroad, the grading of which was then in progress. The work upon this line, as well as upon most other portions of the state improvements, was suspended in the early part of the year 1839, and a depressed condition of business and financial affairs ensued that for several years checked the progress of any works of public improvement.

The prospect of satisfactory professional employment being very dull, Mr. Wilson, at the beginning of the year 1841, turned his attention to farming, in which, having become deeply interested, he continued until the close of the year 1858, being located for the first eight years in Haverford township, Delaware county, Pennsylvania, and subsequently in the vicinity of Downingtown, Chester county, same state; although for the last few years of the period he was more or less engaged in professional matters. During the summers of 1852 and 1853 he made extensive surveys for the Pennsylvania Railroad company, and located a line of railroad from Philadelphia, *via* Phoenixville and the French creek and Conestoga valleys, to a point on the Harrisburgh &

Lancaster railroad about eight miles west of Lancaster. The latter road was operated under lease by the Pennsylvania Railroad company, and the construction of the new line above mentioned was contemplated for the purpose of affording the Pennsylvania company an independent route, in connection with their road west of Harrisburgh, free from the many annoyances attendant upon the use of the state railroad as a part of the through line between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. The subsequent sale of the state improvements, and the acquisition of the main line by the Pennsylvania Railroad company, put a stop to the proposed construction.

Early in the year 1854 Mr. Wilson took charge, as chief engineer, of the West Chester & Philadelphia railroad, then in progress. After the road was completed as far as Media and the grading and bridging thence to West Chester well advanced, work was suspended for want of funds, and he left the service at the end of the year 1855.

During the succeeding eighteen months, Mr. Wilson made a survey for a railroad between Norristown and Allentown; also one between the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers, through the southern part of Philadelphia, for the Pennsylvania Railroad company, in addition to making two trips to Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, investigating railroad matters for the same company.

Upon the purchase of the main line of state improvements by the Pennsylvania Railroad company, he was appointed resident engineer of the railroad between Philadelphia and Columbia, and entered

upon his duties August 1, 1857. In the following year his division was extended to Mifflin, on the Juniata river, and in January, 1859, he was placed in charge of the entire line to Pittsburgh with its branches. This rendered necessary the abandonment of the farm and a change of residence to Altoona, which was the headquarters of the operating departments of the road.

The duties of the resident engineer included not only the care of the roadway, bridges and buildings, but the designing and supervision of all new constructions, surveys for branch lines, the purchase and management of real estate, and the furnishing of fuel and water for the motive power. All purchases of materials for the repair and construction of the works under his charge also devolved upon him for several years, until the organization of a purchasing department by the company. In 1862 his title was changed to chief engineer. He was assisted by an "engineer of bridges and buildings" and three "resident engineers," who had charge respectively of the Philadelphia division, from Philadelphia to Harrisburgh, the Middle division, from Harrisburgh to Altoona, and the Pittsburgh division, thence to Pittsburgh.

The constantly increasing duties of the maintenance of way, together with the large amount of construction work devolving upon the engineer department, had, by the close of the year 1867, accumulated to such an extent as to render a division of labor necessary. A department of construction was accordingly organized to take charge of new work, which went into operation on January 1,

1868, under W. H. Wilson as "chief engineer of construction," with headquarters at Philadelphia. The maintenance of way remained under the general superintendent of transportation as a separate department, and John A. Wilson, who had been for several years chief engineer of the Philadelphia & Erie railroad, was appointed "chief engineer of maintenance of way."

During the succeeding six years a very large amount of new work was constructed, to provide increased facilities for the growing business of the company, embracing passenger, freight, water and coaling stations, additional tracks, new car-shops, piers and coal-shutes at Greenwich, on the Delaware river, and the straightening of several miles of road on the Philadelphia division. During the same period the construction department had charge of a considerable amount of new work on the Philadelphia & Erie and the Lewisburg Centre County & Spruce Creek railroads.

The financial troubles in the latter part of the year 1873 caused a suspension of all new work, with the exception of finishing up what was near completion, and at the end of the year the engineer department was discontinued. The maintenance of way department had been abolished a few years previous, so that from the commencement of the year 1874 all engineering operations upon the company's lines came under the direction of the general manager, who was provided with an engineer assistant. The general superintendent of each grand division and the several division superintendents, also had each an assistant engineer.

In November, 1873, W. H. Wilson was elected president of the Philadelphia & Erie Railroad company, but was continued in the service of the Pennsylvania Railroad company, with the title of consulting engineer, for the purpose of closing up the work previously under his charge, and completing the maps and records of the road. In July, 1874, he resigned the presidency of the Philadelphia & Erie Railroad company, and was placed at the head of a new department of the Pennsylvania Railroad company entitled the "Real Estate Department," retaining the title of consulting engineer. This department was entrusted with the charge of all the real estate on the lines owned and controlled by the Pennsylvania Railroad company, as far as regarded the completion and arrangement of maps and records; the supervision and custody of deeds, leases, etc., etc.; the receipt and payment of rents, and the adjustment and settlement of taxes, together with such other matters as pertained to making the department a complete bureau of the real estate of the company. The large amount of detail involved in arranging and systematizing the business of the department required close and constant attention, but, for the first year or two, there was, fortunately, little new work coming in; after that time, the gradually improving condition of the country from the depression of 1873 led to extensions and improvements of existing lines and the construction of new roads, requiring the acquisition of real estate, and consequently adding materially to the work of the department.

In March, 1884, Mr. Wilson left the real estate department, having been

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elected president of the Philadelphia & Erie, the Belvidere Delaware, the Philadelphia & Trenton and some other railroad companies controlled by the Pennsylvania Railroad company, which positions he still holds.

W. H. Wilson's three sons, John A., Joseph M. and Henry W., graduated as civil engineers at the Rensselaer Poly-

technic institute, Troy, New York, and after serving for several years in prominent positions on the Pennsylvania and other railroads, are now associated as the firm of Wilson Brothers & Company, civil engineers and architects, being the fifth generation in direct succession in the same profession.

JAMES M. OAKLEY.

The late James Madison Oakley of Jamaica, New York, was so well known all through the state because of his public and official labors, that his work as a railroad man, although important and of a character that required energy, executive ability and genius of management, was somewhat overlooked. In the many-sided character of the man, there was room for a diversity of labors; and in his case can be said what cannot in many cases, that whatever his hand undertook to do was well and faithfully done. He was reared amid active scenes, and his life was one of intense activity and only too early ended. He was born in New York city on June 19, 1838, the son of J. M. and Frances Smith Oakley. He was seven years of age when his father died, his mother subsequently marrying Richard W. Smith of Coram, Suffolk county. The boy was educated in the common schools, his first public labor being that of assistant postmaster at Coram, while yet a youth. During the War of the Rebellion, the government established a provost marshal's office in Jamaica, and a position therein was given to young Oakley, who filled it to the

entire satisfaction of the government. He gained in popularity as he grew in years, and in the spring of 1870 was elected chief engineer of the Jamaica fire department; and in the fall of the same year was advanced still further in the line of public promotion by an election on the Democratic ticket as member of the general assembly for the Second district of Queens county, having to contend with George Everett, the Republican candidate, and Francis B. Baldwin, a Democrat. Mr. Oakley was elected to the assembly five consecutive times. In 1875 he was a candidate for the nomination for state senator, but was defeated by Stephen D. Stephens of Richmond, who was in turn defeated in the election by L. Bradford Prince, the Republican nominee. In 1876 Mr. Oakley was appointed by Governor Robinson to the position of quarantine commissioner, in which office he ably served the people of the state for three years. He never relinquished the hope of having the honor to fill a seat in the senate of New York; and in 1877 his party was obliged to nominate him as the only means of wresting the district from the

Republicans. Mr. Prince declined a re-nomination, and the Republicans named James Otis as their standard-bearer. The result was the triumphant election of Mr. Oakley by a majority of more than twenty-five hundred, which was considered a wonderful victory, as Mr. Otis was a man of no small popularity. Mr. Oakley retired from the senate to engage in a railroad enterprise of his own conception, and was only once again a candidate for office, that of the nomination of his party for congress, but was defeated in the convention by Honorable Perry Belmont by only a few votes. He gave Mr. Belmont a loyal and effective support.

The New York, Woodhaven & Rockaway railroad, running from Brooklyn and Long Island City, through Woodhaven and across Jamaica bay, to the famous old beach, was planned and carried to a successful issue by Mr. Oakley. The road was organized in 1877, and he was chosen one of its directors, being advanced to the presidency in 1881, which office he held until his death. His management of the line was such as to secure the praise and thanks of stockholders and the public, his course therein being such as to suggest for him a high position in railroad affairs had his life been spared and his energies fully turned in that direction. An evidence of his capability in that line of labor is found in the fact that his name was suggested to President Cleveland, by Congressman Belmont, in connection with the Inter-state Commerce commission; but Mr. Oakley, while thanking Mr. Belmont for his kind consideration, asked that his name be withdrawn. Of his railroad work in connection with the above road,

it was well said by a distinguished gentleman at the time of his death: "He was elected to the position of president by a large number of stockholders in New York city—men of prominence in Wall street, large financiers—because of his peculiar adaptability for the position. The road was at its lowest ebb, and he has succeeded in rescuing it from absolute bankruptcy, and has managed it to the entire satisfaction of all the stockholders and to all those who were interested in the road." Or, as the resolutions of respect and sympathy, adopted by the board of directors of the road, declare: "His devotion to the best interests of this company was constant and unwearied, and we feel the loss of his services to be irreparable."

Mr. Oakley was interested in other enterprises at various times of his life, serving as a trustee of the village of Jamaica, organizing the Rod and Rifle association, and always contributing to its maintenance and taking a deep interest in its welfare. He was married on February 4, 1869, to Miss Hester A. Durland, a daughter of ex-Sheriff William Durland of Jamaica. The title of colonel, by which he was generally known, was honorary, having been conferred upon him by Governor S. J. Tilden, under the powers belonging to that official.

Prior to his death, Mr. Oakley had not been in good health for several months. In January, 1887, he went south with several friends, but gained no apparent benefit from the trip. He suffered from dyspepsia and a severe cold, which in March developed into pneumonia. On the morning of March 30 he found great difficulty in breathing, and complained of

excessive pain in the region of the heart. Paralysis was even then developing, and in fifteen minutes death suddenly came and ended the life of one of the most useful and popular men upon Long Island. He was followed to the tomb by almost the entire community, with many eminent friends from New York city and elsewhere, and many were the expressions of public and private sympathy extended to the stricken wife and friends. From these many tributes we quote but two as indicative of the tenor of them all, and of the character of the man in whose memory they were uttered:

"No recent death in Jamaica has been so deeply and widely felt as that of James M. Oakley, and it may be well to inquire into the reasons for the general and genuine grief shown by the community. Mr. Oakley had lived in the village for twenty-five years or longer, and was well known to everyone, but the same could be said of many others. He had been much in public life, but not more than other citizens who preceded him to the grave. He was at no time an orator or writer, nor was he ever a man of wealth. His popularity must be accounted for in some other way, and we think we make no mistake when we attribute it first to his uniform good-nature and pleasing manners, and secondly to the unflinching generosity and sympathy of his genial nature. A man may hold the highest offices and yet have no hold upon the popular heart. He may be a good citizen and good politician, and yet be far removed from the people. He may be rich in this world's goods and yet ignorant of all that constitutes charity and every-day good-will for, and interest in,

his fellows. Happily James M. Oakley was both gentle and generous; ever ready to oblige and to assist. He well illustrated the fact that a man may be an office-holder without putting aside courtesy or patience; a partisan without being illiberal, and that he may be generous without having riches. The latter point is one that most men misunderstand. How common it is to hear the expression, 'I cannot afford to do this or do that,' as though benevolence consisted only in making a large outlay of money and could be enjoyed by the wealthy alone. The mistake is a serious one, for it not only blunts the better impulses of the individual, but it also deprives the community of many of the modest and unpretentious acts of charity which gladden the hearts of the unfortunate and go far to smooth the asperities and trials of life. Without large means, Mr. Oakley, having the disposition, was able, quietly and constantly, in various ways, to help those in need; to carry sunshine to hearts and homes, and by so doing to reap a reward of good-will while living, and to be honored and mourned in his death. His example, in this respect, should be of lasting value to his fellow-citizens and is alone sufficient to account for the warm place he had secured in the affections of the people; for while the world does not practice charity as it should, it will not and cannot deny that 'the truly generous is the truly wise; and he who loves not others lives unblest.'"

Or, as was said by another: "Few men were as beloved by the people. He had a heart as tender as a woman's, and big enough to sympathize with the misfortunes that befell the community. He was

never so happy as when assisting his friends and making life pleasanter for those who laid their woes at his feet. He gave away much in charity, but made no boast of it. It was a great pleasure for him to be able to assist young men to rise in the world, especially those whose birthright and social position gave them no preference in the lottery of life. Colonel Oakley, himself, came up from the ranks of the common people. Few men in public life have been more steadfast in their friendships and more forgiving of their enemies than Colonel Oakley. It was an impossibility for him to harbor a grudge, and we do not believe it can be said truthfully that he ever conspired to work an injury to his fellow-man. From the heated contentions of the political campaign he always emerged, whether in victory of defeat, smiling and with pleasant references to the opposition. He was never defeated in an election. Always a Democrat, he

was a leader by instinct and correctly estimated the value of personal fidelity. He was cautious and far-seeing, rarely at fault in his calculations, and a general in planning and executing the work of a campaign. His greatest energies and best abilities were always employed in behalf of his friends, and how many Democratic nominees he saved from the ignominy of defeat it is not necessary to recount here and now. The Democrats have lost their most sagacious leader, Jamaica has lost a son who was altogether lovely in his life, Queens county has lost a citizen whom her people delighted to honor, and the state of New York has lost a servant who served the public interests honestly and zealously. Colonel Oakley was peculiarly happy in his domestic relations, and his home was notable for the charm of its elegance and hospitality. He leaves a widow, but no children."

KANSAS AND THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

THERE is no spectacle in the constitutional history of our country more remarkable, or in the light of subsequent events more astonishing, than that which the National conventions of the Whig and Democratic parties presented in 1852, when they passed resolutions declaring the famous compromise of 1850 a finality. This compromise attempted to settle the conflict between slavery and freedom by a series of concessions. It stipulated that the Fugitive Slave law should remain in force; that California should be received

as a free state; that the slave trade should be abolished in the District of Columbia; that Utah and New Mexico should be admitted into the Union, when the proper time came, on the basis of popular sovereignty. The measure awakened great enthusiasm. In congress and outside of it there seems to have been a wide-spread feeling that the great controversy, which had disturbed the Nation so profoundly, was now happily and permanently composed. Douglass announced in 1851 his determination "never to make another

speech upon the slavery question," and added that he did not believe there would be any occasion for it. "I am heartily tired of the controversy," he continued, "and I know the country is disgusted with it, . . . is acquiescing in the compromise measures—everywhere, north and south." Both of the great political parties caught up this strain of felicitation and vied with each other in eulogizing the so-called finality. In the Whig convention at Baltimore in 1852, Rufus Choate made an impassioned and brilliant speech in defense of the adjustment of 1850. "Let him who doubts, if such there be, whether it was wise to pass these measures," he exclaimed, "look back and recall with what instantaneous and mighty charm they calmed the madness and anxiety of the hour. How every countenance everywhere brightened and elevated itself. How in a moment the interrupted and parted currents of fraternal feeling reunited." Yet in less than two years, and in the face of all this felicitation, the Kansas-Nebraska bill appeared in congress, the whole question of slavery, both on its ethical and its practical side, was reopened, and then ensued a prolonged and violent discussion, which finally resulted in a formal enunciation of the doctrine of popular sovereignty as the principle which must be recognized in organizing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska.

How did it happen that the peace which the compromise of 1850 was intended to secure, and which many of the most distinguished statesmen of the period thought would be permanent, should prove so short-lived? Who is responsible for this sudden revival of the agitation? It is

hardly necessary to say, as the fact is understood pretty generally, that elements of uncertainty in regard to the interior history of the Kansas-Nebraska bill still exist. If we adopt the views of Alexander Stephens as set forth in his 'War Between the States,' the whole matter is simple and perspicuous enough. He says that the compromise of 1850 was established on the theory of no constitutional restriction in the common domain; that this principle was the cardinal feature of the adjustment, and that all the associated measures were of secondary importance. When the question of the admission of Kansas and Nebraska to the Union came up, it was inevitable, if the spirit of the compromise were maintained, that their domestic affairs should be determined by the principle of popular sovereignty rather than by the rule of arbitrary geographical allotment between the north and the south. If the scope and intent of the adjustment were misunderstood to any considerable extent, the mistake is to be regretted certainly, but it does not alter the facts.

The question, however, has another side, which has been presented by various historical writers, among whom Von Holst is one of the latest and ablest. According to their view, the Kansas-Nebraska agitation was a piece of political demagoguery planned in the interest of personal and party schemes. They regard it merely as a trick by which a few unprincipled men, chiefly from the north, hoped to reap a large harvest of prestige and office through their notable service to the south, in opening fresh fields to her social institutions. And it is true that, at the outset, the south was comparatively indifferent to

the measure. "Let the Nebraska bill be rejected to-morrow," said the *New Orleans Bee* during the discussion, "and the south will sleep quite as sound at night as before."

Of the tremendous excitement of 1850 there is not a scintillation left." The men who carried the measure through congress protested loudly that they were acting in the interest of harmony. When the great principle of non-intervention should be definitely and unmistakably adopted, they foresaw an era of peace and good feeling such as the finality orators assured the country had come already. "Withdraw the slavery question from the halls of congress," said Douglass, "and such a catastrophe as the dissolution of the Union can never happen."

But, however indifferent the south may have been to the fortunes of the Kansas-Nebraska bill during the progress of the debate, that feeling passed away entirely when it became a law. It was then regarded as an affair of no secondary importance, since it emphasized the fact of southern supremacy and of northern subservience. The bill originated in the north, received very substantial support from that quarter, and that was agreeable to southern pride. It was a pledge of good behavior and administered a much-needed rebuke to the rather troublesome broods of anti-slavery agitators which had appeared here and there throughout the north. "Abolition, a lawless, rude, vulgar, Cyclopean monster," said the *Richmond Enquirer*, "lies prostrate for the time, with mangled limbs and rayless eye, the contempt and scorn of every honest man."

For the purposes which I have in view it is immaterial whether we adopt Steph-

ens' statement or that of his opponents. I am concerned with the effect of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, with the practical working of it when put to the test of actual experiment, rather than with the tangle of intrigues in which its origin and passage through congress are involved. And perhaps the most surprising feature of the whole affair is that neither the friends nor the foes of this bill, with the possible exception of Mr. Seward, were able to forecast the consequences of it. They did not dream that it would prove to be one of the most disruptive and far-reaching legislative measures of the nineteenth century.

While there was some dissent, and it would be easy to cull from the speeches of congressmen opinions to the effect that Kansas was unsuited to servile labor and, therefore, could never become a slave state, yet it was the general sentiment in Washington and elsewhere that the natural and inevitable consequence of repealing the compromise of 1820 would be to extend the area of southern institutions. In western Missouri, which this measure affected more vitally than any other state, there was no apprehension of disaster. At least, ex-Senator Atchison, who was the master-spirit of the pro-slavery faction on the border, thought it would be easy to capture the territory. He had resided in the frontier counties of Missouri for twenty-five years, had seen service in the state militia, in the judiciary, in the legislature and in the senate of the United States. He was a man of very considerable force and with many attractive qualities. Though often rough and savage in speech, he was at heart

generous and kindly. General Stringfellow once said to me that during the struggle for Kansas, whatever severity there may have been in Atchison's plans, he always relented when the time came to put them into execution. I met him in the autumn of 1884. He was living at Gower, Missouri, in complete seclusion from the world. At the conclusion of the War for the Union he retired to his farm—a magnificent tract of rolling prairie containing one thousand six hundred acres—and for twenty years he scarcely left it. He intended to publish his version of the border history from 1854 to 1861, but his house was destroyed by fire in 1870, and all the papers and memoranda which he had collected for the purpose were consumed. He claimed to be the author of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and I presume with good reason, though the matter is somewhat in doubt. But about one point there is no uncertainty—with the Missouri Compromise out of the way, he thought that Kansas would fall an easy prey to the south.

In the sequel both sides were surprised. The hopes of slave propagandists and the fears of abolitionists proved alike groundless. What overlooked factor in the problem vitiated all the computations—played memorable havoc with the crafty schemes of sectional intrigue? It was nothing more nor less than organized emigration. The appearance in the field of northern societies, chartered and equipped for the exclusive purpose of establishing free-labor colonies in Kansas, was a portentous event for which the southern managers were totally unprepared. The astonishment of Macbeth, when he saw the

murdered Banquo seated among the feast, was scarcely greater. Nothing could reveal this astonishment more fully or emphatically than the almost frantic denunciations with which they were greeted. It would be easy to fill pages with these anathemas. Douglass' savage tirade has been quoted often. Senator Clay of Alabama said that Emigrant Aid societies were "a demonstration of hostility to the south more offensive and inexcusable than any former legislative action by any northern state. . . . It was the first crusade against slavery, initiated, organized and prosecuted under the auspices of a state." Senator Green of Missouri, who succeeded Douglass as chairman of the committee on territories, expressed substantially the same sentiments when he reviewed the situation of the country and the causes that had led to it, just before the outbreak of the Civil war in 1861. The movement revealed to the south its weak point. With the incumbrances that formed so essential an element of its civilization, with its inferior facilities for travel, it could not compete successfully for the great prize. "For every southern man who goes to Kansas," said representative Smith of Alabama in the debates of 1856, "there will be from the north two free-soilers and four foreigners." That Douglass and his associates should not have forecast these possible consequences of their schemes, shows either that they were smitten with the madness which sometimes precedes destruction, or that they put a paltry valuation upon the sincerity and energy of the north. It soon became evident that a sleeping giant had been awakened. There was a sudden

bloom of activities that long had been gathering strength. Chartered companies, with large monied capital and the definite mission of establishing an anti-slavery population in Kansas, became a prominent feature of the period. The south, and particularly the people of western Missouri, had occasion for alarm. On the border, where conflagrations are kindled easily, there was a tremendous excitement. I suppose that Representative Oliver did not overstate the matter when he said in a speech on the seventh of March, 1856, "My people . . . were roused to an indignation that knew no bounds."

In this grave emergency something must be done. The situation was sufficiently embarrassing for the pro-slavery leaders. For the policy which was adopted I suppose Atchison mainly to have been responsible. Stringfellow was careful to keep clear of all the various suffrage experiments in Kansas. Now, this policy, at least in the peculiar phase which it assumed, was a blunder, and ought to have been fatal instantly. Atchison and his associates assumed that the managers of the northern societies would pay little attention to legal technicalities—that they would send men into the territory, not as genuine settlers, but as temporary voters merely. The people of Missouri, taking it for granted, according to Mr. Oliver, that northern immigrants would vote illegally, asked to be allowed the same privilege. And that privilege they took very freely on the thirtieth of March, 1855, and at other times. No more extensive and unblushing examples of stuffing the ballot-box can be found in the history of

popular suffrage. Indeed, so notorious were the frauds that, for the most part, the champions of slavery in congress admitted the fact, and set up a defense of palliations. I have not forgotten that Senator Geyer of Missouri, in a speech on the eighth of April, 1856, claimed that "the large accession of population in March, 1855, was composed of people who belonged to Kansas, and had wintered in Missouri, Indiana and Ohio. They came back earlier than they otherwise would have done, in consequence of the order of an election at that extraordinary season. Some of them were obliged to go back to the state of Missouri after the election and seek the hospitalities of the people of that state; so that there is nothing in the fact of their going over or coming back to justify the allegation that they were not legal voters in Kansas." Douglass caught at this subterfuge, but the report of the congressional investigating committee in July, 1856, utterly destroyed its usefulness. None of the apologists for Missouri get beyond what the latest of them calls "*a tu quoque* argument." "Certainly if a company of so-called northern emigrants," says Mr. Carr in his 'History of Missouri,' "in which there were two hundred and twenty-five men and only five women, whose 'wagons contained no visible furniture, agricultural implements or mechanical tools,' . . . were considered *bona fide* settlers, and were permitted to vote, there could not have been a sufficient reason for ruling out any band of Missourians who ever crossed the border and declared their intention of remaining, even though they left the next day." This particular company is an unfortunate illustration for Mr. Carr's

purposes, as it would be easy to show that most of its members became permanent citizens of Kansas. And in general it may be said that the officers of the Northern Emigrant Aid companies—and especially those of the Boston organization—were scrupulous to observe all the technicalities of law. Mr. A. A. Lawrence makes an entry in his diary to the effect that he had taken the best legal advice in New England in reference to the whole subject. The Missouri managers were largely lawyers, but evidently they did not consult the statutes very much when they mapped out their policy.

Atchison's mistakes, however, were matched, and the disastrous consequences to the Missouri cause, which ought to have followed upon them, neutralized, at least in part, by the unfortunate policy of Reeder, the first territorial governor. He made an unpardonable blunder in declining to set aside the entire election, and to order a new one under restrictions which would have rendered wholesale frauds impossible. The election of March, 1855, was not an affair involved in any sort of obscurity. Everybody who lived on the border understood the facts. Reeder knew them perfectly when he opened the returns at Shawnee Mission in the presence of a gang of Missourians and two or three wagon-loads of men from Lawrence, all armed to the teeth. He had received no fresh information when, a few months later, he delivered his fiery free-state harangue at Big Springs. I confess I sympathize with a brilliant representative of Maryland in the Thirty-third congress—Henry Winter Davis—who denounced

President Pierce because he failed to select a man for the post of governor that "knew border life, whose head would not be dizzy at the flash of steel, . . . who would have seen to it that the great tourney between the champions of freedom and slavery was fairly fought, with equal wind and sun, and with a truncheon swayed by no partiality." Reeder was a man of ability, and meant to deal fairly with all parties; but, a stranger to the frontier, and not particularly well furnished to cope with it in any event, it is not strange that his administration ran a brief and troubled career. His position was a very difficult one, and success would not have been easy whoever had occupied the executive office. The experiences of his immediate successors—all of them able men—show plainly enough that the position was no sinecure. Shannon was denounced in congress as "one of the most detestable characters in America," though the citizens of Lawrence, among whom he spent his later years, found him to be worthy of the highest respect, honor; and within six months from the day of his arrival, Geary fled from the territory in fear of his life. A firm stand at the beginning would have averted many of these subsequent complications and abridged the period of disorder. Men equal to the emergency may not have been abundant, yet they probably could have been found. Mr. Winter Davis thought there were Democrats within the sound of his voice who would not have been wanting, "who would have cut off their right hand rather than allow the violent overthrow of the law they were ordered to execute—whose cheek would

burn with shame at the unchecked insolence with which Governor Reeder's authority was derided or eluded."

Reeder's course left the free-state cause in an uncomfortable plight. It legalized technically the frauds of the March election—put the entire governmental machinery of the territory into the hands of the Pro-slavery party. Nothing that efficient patronage and intrigue could do to advance its interests would be lacking. The judiciary and the governorship were not elective. Only the legislature could be reached through the ballot, and that after the lapse of two years. Judged by the ordinary calculations of political cause and effect, the chances were that this formidable pro-slavery combination would crush speedily the handful of northern immigrants who stood for freedom. It is not my purpose to follow the successive movements—I have attempted that task elsewhere—by which the Missouri faction was foiled, the territorial legislature wrested from its grasp, and an anti-slavery civilization established in Kansas. I desire at the present time simply to call attention to the importance of the struggle as related to the evolution of our political history.

Now, the border fight touched the National life vitally at two points. In the first place, it was a large factor in the creation of the Republican party. From 1854 to 1858 Kansas was the foremost theme in the world of our politics. It was the subject of interminable debates in congress. The discussion upon the Lecompton constitution alone—a single item in the vast account—fills more than nine hundred pages of the *Congressional*

Globe. In the Presidential election of 1856 it was the chief source of material and inspiration for northern stump orators. Speakers fresh from the territory took a prominent part in the campaign. Governor Robinson spoke in New York, Brooklyn, New Haven and elsewhere. Lane made addresses in Chicago and various western cities, while Wood, Emery, Smith, Conway, not to mention others, did effective service. Kansas presented issues which gathered up all the essential principles of the two civilizations that were struggling for the mastery of the continent. These issues had all the breadth, perpetuity and fascination requisite for the foundation of a great political organization. The old parties could not grapple with them successfully, and quickly went to pieces. Other agencies, doubtless, had a hand in the reconstruction that followed, but none were so immediately and directly concerned as the Kansas struggle.

In the second place, there can be no question that it precipitated secession. The southern leaders—at least those who were on the border—knew very well that the loss of Kansas would be a serious, if not fatal, blow to the slave system. This is the burden of an address which Atchison, Stringfellow and others issued in the summer of 1856. In the circular of the Lafayette Emigration society and in private letters we find the same urgent, wistful appeal. It was clear to these men that not only the domestic institutions of Missouri were at stake, but that the control of the vast interior regions of the country was involved as well. They regarded the contest, says Mr. Carr in his 'Missouri,' as "the last peaceful struggle

that the south could make upon this issue with any prospect of success. . . . If, with all the advantages which the proximity of Missouri to Kansas gave them, they could not secure that territory to their interest, it needed no prophet to tell them . . . that hereafter, so far as slavery was concerned, they would have to fight not for its extension into new territories, but for its existence even in those states in which it had the sanction of law."

It is doubtful whether the importance of the fight for Kansas, and the relation which it sustains to the destruction of southern civilization, are as yet fully appreciated. Time alone reveals the significance and magnitude of events. If we should measure history by standards of pomp and circumstance; if we should apply to it tests of numbers and reputation, the conventions at Lawrence and Grasshopper Falls and Big Springs, the sessions of the amateur state legislature at Topeka and the almost bloodless campaign on the Wakarusa might appear, one and all, to have been insignificant matters. Very different, however, is the impression when we trace the effect of these episodes of the frontier upon the destiny of the

Republic. I am confident that their importance and criticalness are likely to be increased rather than diminished by the historical rectifications and revaluations which are already in progress. The anti-slavery men, to whom was committed the cause of liberty in Kansas, stood at the parting of two ways in the destiny of our country. What they did and suffered set the currents of civilization toward freedom. If they had failed; if the great Mediterranean territory west of Missouri had been linked with the south, it is impossible to say what altered destiny would have befallen the Nation. But it needs no far-sighted vision to perceive that in such an event the date of emancipation and of the triumph of free institutions would have been deferred to some uncertain period in the future. These citizens of the frontier were fortunate in their opportunities—they fell upon a time of transition when great revolutions were stirring. It was a time in which impulses and directions could be imparted that make epochs and settle the fate of many generations to come. And it is no small praise to say that they proved themselves equal to the occasion.

LEVERETT W. SPRING.

OMAHA.

III.

At the time of giving name to Council Bluffs (August, 1804), Captain Lewis declared that the situation of the place was exceedingly favorable for a fort and trading factory, as the soil was well calculated for bricks and there was an abundance of wood in the neighborhood. The air, he said, was pure and healthy. It was central to the chief resorts of the Indians: one day's journey from the Otoes; one and a half from the Great Pawnees; two days' from the Mahas, and two and a quarter from the Pawnee Loups. It was, he affirmed, convenient to the hunting-grounds of the Sioux and twenty-five days' journey to Santa Fé.*

The ceremonies of the council, which was held by Lewis and Clark with the Otoes, being ended, the party set sail up the Missouri on the afternoon of the fourth of August. There had been white traders in the vicinity, for a deserted trading-house, on what is now the Nebraska side of the river, was descried, where one of the party had passed two years in trafficking with the Mahas. It will be seen, therefore, that this locality was then the hunting-ground of the tribe just named (and it even extended farther down the

Missouri). But, as will be presently shown, the homes, properly so-called, of the Mahas ("Omahas")—the place where they had their cabins and wigwams—was on what was then (1804) known as "Maha Creek," a considerable distance up the Missouri and on what is now the Nebraska side of the Missouri.

It is only necessary in this connection to state that Captain Lewis, in an endeavor to find the Maha Indians, who, he supposed, were at their ancient village, a considerable distance above the present site of Omaha, proved abortive. Their town had, at one time, consisted of three hundred cabins. It was now a desolation. It had been burned four years previous, because of the mortality caused among its inhabitants by the small-pox, four hundred men and a large number of women and children having died of the disease. "The accounts," says the journal of the expedition, "we have had of the effects of the small-pox on that nation are most distressing. It is not known in what way it was first communicated to them. . . . They had been a military and powerful people, but when these warriors saw their strength wasting before a malady which they not could resist, their frenzy was extreme. They burnt their village, and many of them put to death their wives and children to save them from so cruel an affliction, and that all might go together to some better country." The precise spot of their

*There is a diversity of opinion as regards the locality, described in Lewis and Clark's journal, which was named by them "Council Bluffs." I have purposely avoided entering upon a discussion of the subject, as it is not pertinent to this history. This much may be said, however, that the "Council Bluffs" of to-day is not identical with that of Lewis and Clark.

old-time village was near three forks of the "Maha Creek," spoken of by Lewis in such a way as to imply that it had received that name before the visit of the party; and it is still so called; that is, it is known as "Omaha Creek." The location of the town was in what is now Omadi township, at or near the present post-hamlet of Homer, in Dakota county, Nebraska, and very nearly in latitude forty-two degrees thirteen minutes north, as determined by solar observation at the time of the visit of the explorers, whose journey we are now considering.

Captain Lewis, not having succeeded in finding the Mahas, moved on up the Missouri; crossed, with his party, the Rocky mountains, and finally reached the Pacific ocean. He returned down the Missouri in 1806.

It was a number of years subsequent to this before the general government held treaties with the Indians in this region; finally, one was held with the Pawnees, on the fifth of January, 1812; one with the Iowas and Mahas (after called "Omahas") on the twenty-sixth of December, 1815; and one with the Otoes just two years from that date. In all these treaties, the various tribes acknowledged themselves to be under the protection of the United States, and that there should be perpetual peace between them and the Americans.

Other explorations and voyages up the Missouri followed, at different periods, after that of Lewis and Clark, notably that of Major Stephen H. Long, in 1819, under orders from John C. Calhoun, then secretary of war of the United States. The party were to go in the steamboat *Western Engineer*, belonging to the gov-

ernment. The principal object of the enterprise was a topographical survey of the country visited. The steamer was the first one to ascend the Missouri above where Kansas City is now located. A position nearly identical with what is now the town of Fort Calhoun, in the south-eastern part of the present county of Washington, Nebraska, was selected for his winter-quarters, by Major Long, on the seventeenth of September, and, in a few days, great progress had been made in cutting timber, quarrying stone and in other necessary work. A fort was, in June, 1821, established here and named "Fort Atkinson," afterward changed to "Fort Calhoun." It was vacated in 1827.

Major Long's party remained at their quarters during the winter of 1819-20, obtaining much valuable knowledge of the country and of the various Indian tribes of the region. In 1820 the major struck across the country to the Pawnee villages, then on the Loup Fork of the Platte, passing on to the mountains; thence to the head of the Arkansas river; reaching, finally, on his return, the Mississippi in safety.

It is a matter of some importance, in an historical sense, to learn how, after the expedition of Lewis and Clark, civilization gradually approached the spot where Omaha is situated, that we may catch glimpses of what happened years ago in and around the site of the city.

Down the Missouri, in what is now Sarpy county, Nebraska, ten miles below Omaha, at a point now well-known as "Bellevue," one Manuel Lisa, a wealthy Spaniard, commenced, in 1805, a trading-post. It was the first white man's establishment

within the boundaries of the present state of Nebraska after this region became a part of the "Territory of Louisiana." Just how long Lisa traded here with the Indians is unknown. However, it was, probably, some years, as he gave the name to the place, which it still retains.

We now come to a period (1810) when the Missouri river, in the region of the present city of Omaha, became better known to the people of the United States. The cause of this was the establishing, by the American Fur company, of a trading-post at Bellevue. Francis DeRoin had charge of the establishment. He was succeeded by Joseph Roubideaux, subsequently the founder of St. Joseph, Missouri. He retained his place at Bellevue until 1816, when John Cabanne took charge of the post. The latter directed affairs there until 1824, when a successor was appointed—Peter A. Sarpy, in honor of whom Sarpy county was named. He must be considered the first white settler, in the true sense of the word, at Bellevue and, in reality, in the Valley of the Missouri above the south line of the present state of Nebraska. In 1824, then, the site of what is now Omaha was ten miles away from any civilized settlement.

The next year after Sarpy located at Bellevue, a man by the name of J. B. Royce established a trading-post "on the Omaha plateau" and was the first white man, so far as is known to history, who had a residence on any portion of the present site of the city. Royce continued here from 1825 until 1828, trading with the Indians, when he left. It is a matter of regret that nothing is known of Royce

—nothing has been preserved relating to him except his name.

In 1826 Colonel John Boulware, who finally settled at what is now Nebraska City, established himself at Fort Calhoun. It is generally believed that he, next to Colonel Sarpy, was the first white to settle on the west side of the Missouri.*

For the next eighteen years—that is, down to 1844—civilization seems not to have approached nearer the spot where the city of Omaha is now located than at Bellevue. But now a movement took place which brought white men to its very threshold. The Mormons who, during the year just mentioned, were expelled from Nauvoo, Illinois, gathered together their possessions and started westward to find a locality where they might be unmolested in their religious belief. Their number, consisting of men, women and children, was large—by some estimated at ten thousand. Their route lay across the state of Iowa, and the road by which they traveled was afterward known as the "Mormon Trail." Many stopped off on the way, but the greater portion came on until the Missouri river was reached, when they halted at or near the site of the present city of Council Bluffs, Iowa. They remained there but a short time, for, early in 1845, they crossed the Missouri and located upon its western bank, naming their location "Winter Quarters," which lies immediately north and nearly adjoining Omaha. For the next two years

* Compare Lieutenant E. S. Dudley's "Notes on the Early Military History of Nebraska," in Vol. II. of the "Transactions of the Neb. State Hist. Soc.," p. 168.

"Winter Quarters" continued to grow, until, we are told by one writer, "fifteen thousand people were there congregated."*

Another writer of more credibility assures us that, "in less than three months, seven hundred buildings were erected, and the number was soon increased to over one thousand. The town had its work-shops, mills and factories operated by water-power. It became a busy place, and soon contained a population of from six thousand to eight thousand."†

The Mormons had an eye single to the importance of having friendly relations with the Omaha Indians, who claimed the country where they had located. They rented, for a term of two years, sufficient land for their purpose, of the head men of that tribe; but the presence of so large a number of white people upon their lands naturally alarmed them. They asserted that the new-comers were cutting too much timber, and they made complaint to the agent employed by the government, asking their removal. The fact was that the invaders "were necessarily obliged to cut large quantities of lumber for building purposes." It was clear, upon investigation, that depredations had been committed, so the "Latter-Day Saints" were ordered off by the government's agent. A large portion obeyed the command, re-crossed the Missouri, settling in various accessible places among the bluffs on the east side of the river. Because of these troubles, an expedition of eighty wagons

was sent west in search of another home for the Mormons. It resulted in the selection of the Valley of the Great Salt lake—then far beyond the reach of the "Gentiles" or their laws—"where they could enjoy their peculiar observances untouched by the power of those who deemed their faith a fraud and their practices pernicious." Brigham Young was the leader of the pioneer party which started on its exploration on the fourteenth of April, 1847. Of course, "Winter Quarters" soon fell to decay. The whole region round about was virtually "restored" to its condition of aboriginal desolation. A few houses were left; and a sad memento of this Mormon occupation is still to be seen there, in a grave-yard, where many found their last resting-place. Civilization came, as it were, within a stone's throw of the future site of Omaha, but it departed as suddenly, almost, as it came; for the relics of Mormon predominance, including the houses, burial-places, ferry-sites and what-not, that were afterward to be seen (the buildings being occupied as residences and council-houses by the Indians and vagrant traders), could hardly be considered but as mere vestiges of enlightenment.

However, there was enough left of "Winter Quarters" to make it one of the points, among many others, where the gold-seekers of 1849 and following years crossed the Missouri on their way to California. The place, therefore, did not fade away entirely from the memory of men; and there were those who treasured up in their minds the peculiar advantages of this point as a ferry crossing—some even

* "History of the State of Nebraska" (Chicago: 1882), p. 678.

† Alfred Sorenson, in "Omaha Illustrated" (Omaha: D. C. Dunbar & Co., 1888).

believing that a railroad bridge would some day span the Missouri here, and that, phoenix-like, another and far greater city would rise from the ashes of "Winter Quarters."

But these day-dreamers miscalculated by placing their hopes on a spot five or six miles too far up the river, that was all.

It was the establishing of a ferry that gave the first impetus to the founding of Omaha. William D. Brown of Mt. Pleasant, Henry county, Iowa, on his way to California in 1849, conceived the idea that a ferry-boat, crossing from Council Bluffs to the opposite (west) side of the Missouri, would "pay." It was not only that, he expected to reap a share of the California travel. He saw, in his mind's eye, an emigration, large in its proportions, of squatters and speculators to the fertile lands which stretched away to the westward from the banks of the river. The country, he reasoned, would before many years be purchased of the Indians, and he would be prepared, when the tide set in, to accommodate all who might desire to cross over the river at this point.

The far-seeing Brown abandoned his California trip; but to successfully establish a ferry across the Missouri river at the place contemplated by him, was no small undertaking. There were many difficulties to be overcome. Among these were a sand-bar in the middle of the stream, a wide slough at the east bank that would obstruct the passage of the boat, and a low bottom at the west bank composed of sand and marsh. But Brown determined to hazard the undertaking. The next year (1850) he explored the west side of

the river. He determined, in his own mind, what course to take to avoid the sand-bar; what point on the bank he would land his passengers; and what direction should be pointed out to them that they might safely and quickly reach high ground. He then returned to the east side of the Missouri and put his plans into successful operation. The crossing he called the "Lone Tree Ferry." The craft used was a flat-boat, propelled by oars. The undertaking, as had been anticipated by its projector, proved a profitable one.

"Winter Quarters," although it was now completely shorn of its glory, had, it was evident, some peculiar advantages, such as, under an enlightened direction, might make it a place of considerable importance when permanent settlers should seek homes on this (the west) side of the Missouri. Among those who were acquainted with the locality, and believed in its favorable location for a city, was Peter A. Sarpy, already mentioned, agent of the American Fur company at Bellevue. He advised James C. Williams to settle there and lay out a town. The latter, in the fall of 1853, acting upon Sarpy's suggestion, caused the place to be surveyed and platted, changing its name to "Florence." A settlement commenced (this time a permanent one), antedating any other between that point and Bellevue.

Let us now return to the proprietor of the "Lone Tree Ferry." A project of his must here be mentioned and the outcome of it.

"The beautiful and commanding position of the future site of Omaha," says a

recent writer, "particularly the plateau with the hills in the background, impressed Mr. Brown with the belief that it would be a fine location for a town, which some day might develop into a large and prosperous city. The tide of travel was westward, and that point was the head of navigation at that time. He had frequently been over the ground and had made careful observations. Other residents of Council Bluffs had also visited the spot, and coincided with Mr. Brown as to its being a splendid site for a town. He suggested to some of his friends an enterprise of this character." * This was the *ideal* founding of Omaha; we will now describe the *real*.

At the date when the suggestions just mentioned were made to some of the prominent citizens of Council Bluffs by Mr. Brown—the spring of 1853—it seemed altogether certain that in a few months the Indian title to all the lands in that region would be yielded to the general government; why not, therefore, "take time by the forward top" and at once fix upon a site, mark it as a "claim" and proceed to plat it? Such thoughts were indulged in by the gentlemen with whom Mr. Brown conferred. The result of their deliberations was the organization, on the twenty-third of July, 1853, of "The Council Bluffs & Nebraska Steam Ferry Company," with Dr. Enos Lowe, president, and Tootle and Jackson, S. S. Bayliss, Joseph H. D. Street, Bernhart Henn, Jesse Williams, Samuel R. Curtiss, Tanner and Downs and William D. Brown, members. But it was resolved by them not to

attempt to secure the town site until Nebraska should be formed into a territory, which was accomplished by the passage, on the twenty-third day of May, 1854, by congress, of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

In February of the year last named, the government agent of the Omahas, Otoes and Missouris met these tribes in council at Bellevue, the result of which was an agreement on their part to hold a treaty with the United States for the purpose of disposing of their lands, and of having reservations set apart and secured to them for their future homes. A treaty was held accordingly and articles signed on the sixteenth of March, 1854, by which they disposed of all their interest in the lands in all the region "round about."

It should be understood, in general terms, that the lands west of and adjoining the Missouri above the mouth of the Platte, extending westward somewhat indefinitely, and northerly to the possessions of the Sioux, belonged to the Omahas; so that now the "coast was clear"—"the times were ripe"—for the Ferry company to carry out their plan of surveying and platting a town, or, as some (who were prophets, in truth) believed, of founding a city.

A. D. Jones, then a surveyor of Council Bluffs, was thereupon employed by the company to survey the site covering the "claims" before made by that organization upon the west bank of the Missouri river, on the plateau near which was the landing of the steam ferry-boat that had now succeeded the flat-boat of Mr. Brown. The greater portion of the month of June and a part of July were spent by Mr. Jones in the work assigned him, he

* Alfred Sorenson in 'Omaha Illustrated,' before cited.

being "assisted by Mr. C. H. Downs, who the Ferry company gave the name of carried the chain and drove the stakes." "Omaha."
To the town, when surveyed and platted, CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

[To be continued]

FIRST CIVILIZED ESTABLISHMENT ON THE WISCONSIN.

ON the twenty-second day of August, 1782, La Salle, that daring explorer and intrepid adventurer of the early northwest, in writing from Fort Frontenac, now Toronto, Canada, complains that Du Luth was encroaching on the territory which had been expressly assigned to him in which to trade. "He [that is Du Luth]," says La Salle, "pretends to have made an important discovery, and to ask this country as [having] the advantages of the Isolinois [Illinois], which is amusing enough that he hopes a reward for his rebellion. In the second place there are only three ways to go there [that is, to the country of the Sioux], one by Lake Superior, the other by the Bay of the Puans [Green Bay], the third by the Isolinois and the lands of my commission. The two former are suspicious, and it would not be necessary to open the third to him to my disadvantage, he having incurred no expense, and having gained much without risk, while I have undergone great hardships, perils and losses; and by the Isolinois there is a circuit of three hundred leagues for him to make."

"Moreover," adds La Salle, "the country of the Nadouesioux [Sioux] is not a country which he has discovered. It has been long known, and the Rev. Father

Hennepin and Michael Accault were there before him; the first one, indeed, of his fellow-deserters who reached it, having been one of my soldiers whom he seduced. Moreover, this country is uninhabitable, unfit for cultivation, there being nothing but marshes full of wild rice, on which these nations live; and no benefit can be derived from this discovery, whether it is ascribed to my people or to Du Luth, because the rivers there are not navigable. But the king having granted us trade in buffalo skins, it would be ruined by coming and going to the Nadouesioux [Sioux] by any other route than the Lake Superior one, through which the Count Frontenac can send to obtain beaver, according to the powers which he has to grant permits [congéz]. But if they go by Ouisconsin [Wisconsin], where they make their buffalo hunt in summer, and where I have begun an establishment [établissement], the commerce will be ruined on which alone I rely, from the great number of buffalo killed there every year, beyond what can be believed."

It will be seen that, in this letter, La Salle makes two positive statements, both of which are of paramount importance to the history of the northwest in general, and to that of Wisconsin in particular,

that before the year 1782 there were a great number of buffaloes in the country watered by the Wisconsin; and, further, that in that country he had commenced an establishment or trading-post. Now, the interesting question is, where did La Salle begin his settlement? Was it immediately on the river or some distance from it? The language used by him: "Mais si on y va par Ouisconsin où ils font l'esté la chasse aux bœufs et où j'ay commencé un établissement," certainly implies that he commenced it on the river. But, in a volume just issued from the press, it is declared by the editor that this establishment was probably at Prairie du Chien.*

Let us examine this claim. Prairie du Chien, as everyone knows, is on the Mississippi, not far above the mouth of the Wisconsin, and on the east side of the river. In shipping buffalo skins or peltry of any kind from the Wisconsin river east, the route was across the portage to the Fox river of Green bay; thence down that stream and the bay to Lake Michigan; thence by the lakes to their destination, some being taken by way of the Ottawa, some by way of Lake Erie. It is not probable that a trading-post would be commenced in a place some distance away and in a direction exactly opposite, for the purpose of gathering these skins from the Indians preparatory to shipping, that is, where Prairie du Chien is now located, especially in view of the language of La Salle already quoted, showing his trading-post to have been on the Wisconsin.

Now, in order to bolster up the probabilities he advances, the writer just

referred to, who puts forth the claim for Prairie du Chien, gives an extract (translated) from La Salle's letter already mentioned, and this he does in the following words:

"La Salle further states in the same letter: 'Six weeks afterward, all having returned to the Ouisconsin with the Nadouesioux on a hunt, the R. P. Louis Hennepin and the Picard resolved to go to the mouth of the river, where I had promised to send messages, as I had done by six men, whom the Jesuits deceived, telling them that R. P. Louis [Hennepin] and his fellow-travelers had been slain. They allowed them to go there alone.'" The words in italics are not italicized in the original, but are thus given by way of emphasis by the writer who makes the quotation. But the extract, standing alone and introduced as it is, conveys a different meaning from that intended by La Salle to anyone not familiar with the whole letter, and this includes, necessarily, of course, nearly all readers. "Six weeks afterward" has not the slightest reference to the time when the establishment was commenced, but to certain events with which Picard and Hennepin were connected, these men being at that time up the Mississippi and prisoners to the Sioux, having been dispatched, along with one Accault, to the country of those savages by La Salle, from the Illinois, on the last day of February, 1780; and having, also, been assured when they set out that he would send tidings to them of himself to the mouth of the Wisconsin, where they could hear from him. In this promise made by La Salle, there was not the slightest reference

* Lyman C. Draper, in 'Wisconsin State Historical Society's Collections,' Vol. X., p. 321.

to any establishment he had made or would probably make there, or just above there, at what is now Prairie du Chien. The words they "allowed them to go there alone," with which the above extract closes, does not refer to the six men sent by La Salle, but to Picard and Hennepin, whom the Sioux allowed to go alone to the mouth of the Wisconsin to meet the promised messengers. The six men never reached there.

Lest it be thought some forced construction may be given in what has been said as to the establishment of La Salle being on the Wisconsin and not on the Mississippi, and that the probabilities are decidedly against Prairie du Chien (or, at least, not for that point), it is proper here to cite what John Gilmary Shea says in translating so much of La Salle's letter as refers to Hennepin. "Where did La Salle," he asks, "begin a settlement on the Wisconsin?" To his mind, evidently, the words of La Salle mean "on the Wisconsin," not at its mouth nor on the Mississippi. It is safe to conclude that, if he had thought it was commenced at the mouth of the Wisconsin, he would have so stated, for he translates what is said about the six men being sent there by La Salle to carry tidings to Picard and Hennepin.

But to return to the claim made for Prairie du Chien. The claimant, in the work already cited, gives another extract (translated) from La Salle's letter, which, with the words introducing it, is as follows: "Then La Salle speaks of their being pillaged, because of jealousy, 'as they [the Indians] were from different villages,

and but few from that where the Frenchmen were to go; they did it in order to secure their portion of the merchandise, of which they feared they would receive none if they once entered the village where the Frenchmen were to go.' It would seem highly probable that La Salle's establishment at the Wisconsin was *at the mouth of the river*, where he was so anxious to send messages, no doubt to persons connected with his 'establishment,' and where Hennepin and his fellow-travelers were destined; and it would appear also, that there was an Indian village there at that early period."

In this quotation (which includes also an extract translated, as we have mentioned already, from La Salle's letter) the brackets and the words in italics are by the writer, who is claiming the trading-post of La Salle for Prairie du Chien. The idea conveyed therein is, that it is "highly probable," and "would appear," in La Salle's letter, (1) that, at the mouth of the Wisconsin river, there was then (that is, when Hennepin and his fellow-travelers were to go there) an Indian village at that place; (2) that La Salle was, at that time, anxious to send messages to persons connected with his establishment there; and (3) that by the words, "the mouth of the Wisconsin," is meant the place which is now the site of Prairie du Chien. These propositions are without the slightest foundation; and not one of them can by any possibility be based upon anything to be found in La Salle's letter. But, as the reader may prefer to see the rendering of a portion of that letter into English by John Gilmary Shea—an acknowledged authority in early western history, whose

translations from early French books, letters and documents are second to none in our country—so much as relates to the point under discussion is here given, with such interpolations by myself, in brackets, as seem to be necessary to make the sense perfectly clear :

"After having sailed [that is, after Accault, Picard and Hennepin, who had been dispatched by La Salle to the Sioux country, had sailed] along the Mississippi till the eleventh of April [1780], about three o'clock in the afternoon, paddling along the shore on the Illinois [that is, eastern] side, a band of a hundred Nadouesieux [Sioux] warriors, who were coming for the purpose of killing some Tchatchakigoua, descended the same river in thirty-three birch-bark canoes. There were with them two women and one of those wretches who serve as women, although they are men, whom the Illinois call Ikoueta. They passed along and beyond some islands, and several canoes had already descended below that of the Frenchmen [that is, Accault, Picard and Hennepin]. Having perceived it, they all gathered, and those which had passed, paddling up with all their might, easily blocked their way. There was a part on land, which invested them [the Frenchmen] on that side. Michael Accault, who was the conductor, had the calumet presented to them. They received it and smoked, after having made a circle on land covered with straw, in which they made the Frenchmen sit. Immediately two old men began to bewail the death of those relatives whom they intended to avenge; after having taken some tobacco, they made our people [that is, Accault,

Picard and Hennepin] embark and cross first to the other side of the river. They [the Sioux] followed them after giving three yells and paddling with all their might. On landing, Michael Accault made them a present of twenty knives and a fathom and a half of tobacco, which they accepted. They had already stolen a half pike and some other trifles. They then marched ten days together without showing any mark of discontent or ill-will, but on the twenty-second of April, having reached islands where they had killed some Maskoutens, they put the two dead men whom they were going to avenge, and whose bones they carried with them, between Father Louis [Hennepin] and Michael Accault. It is an equivocal ceremony, which is done to friends to excite their compassion and obtain presents to cover them, and to slaves who are taken in war to give them to understand that they must expect to be treated as the deceased was.

Michael Accault unfortunately did not understand this nation [Sioux] and there was not a single slave of the other nations whom he understood, which scarcely ever happens, all the nations in America having a number of those whose lives they spare in order to replace their dead, after having sacrificed a great many to them to appease their vengeance. As a result of this, one can make himself understood by almost all nations, when he knows three or four languages of those who go furthest in war, such as the Iroquois, the Islinois, the Akansa, the Nadouesieux [Sioux] and Sauteurs [Chippewas]. Accault understood all these except the Nadouesieux, but there are many among them who have

been prisoners among the others, or who have come from others and been taken in war, but chance willed that not one could be found in that band to interpret for the others. It was necessary to give a full box of goods and the next day twenty-four axes in trade.

"When they [the Sioux] were eight leagues below the Falls of St. Anthony they resolved to go by land to their village sixty leagues, or thereabout, distant from the landing place, not being willing to carry our people's things [that is, the things of Accault, Picard and Hennepin] or take them by water. They [the Indians] also made them [the Frenchmen] give the rest of the axes, which they distributed, promising to pay for them well at the village; but, two days after, they also divided among them two boxes of goods, and having quarrelled over the division, as well of the goods as of the tobacco, each chief pretending to be master, they parted in jealousy, and took the Frenchmen to the village, where they promised satisfaction in beaver, of which they professed to have a large number.

"They [the Frenchmen] were well received there and at first feasted; Accault, who was in a different village from that in which the Rev. Father Louis [Hennepin] and the Picard were, who were also well received, except that some wild young fellows having told the Picard to sing, the fear which he felt made him commit an act of cowardice, as it is only slaves who sing on reaching a village. Accault, who was not there, could not prevent it, but they had subjected them to no treatment approaching that given to slaves. They were never tied and payment was at once

promised for what the young men had taken, because Accault having found some by whom he could make himself understood, made them feel the importance of doing so, and two calumets were at once danced and some beaver robes presented to begin the payment; but as there was too little, Accault would not be satisfied with it.

"Six weeks after, having all returned with the Nadouesieux hunting towards Ouisconsin [that is, the three Frenchmen and the Sioux having returned toward the Wisconsin river], the Rev. Father Louis Hennepin and Picard resolved to come to the mouth of the river [Wisconsin], where I [that is, La Salle] had promised to send tidings of myself, as I did by six men, whom the Jesuits debauched, telling them that the Rev. Father Louis [Hennepin] and his traveling companions had been killed. They [the Picard and Hennepin] were allowed to go there [that is, to the mouth of the Wisconsin] alone to show that they were not treated as slaves, and that Du Lhut [Du Luth] is wrong in boasting that he delivered them [the Frenchmen] from bondage, inasmuch as on the way and as long as they [the Indians] had provisions, the French had the best, although they fasted well when the Indians ran out of food. The plundering was caused by jealousy only; for they [the Indians] were from different villages and very few from that [Sioux village] where the French [Accault, Picard and Hennepin] were to go; they [the Sioux who captured the Frenchmen] did this to have a share of the goods, of which they were afraid they would get nothing, if they once got into the village where the French

were [to go]; but the old men blamed the young greatly and offered and began the satisfaction which the said Accault was to receive [and which has just been mentioned]. So little did they retain the French as slaves that they gave the Rev. Father [Hennepin] and the Picard a canoe to come and obtain tidings of me [that is, of La Salle]."

One more quotation from the advocate for Prairie du Chien as being the place where La Salle began his trading-post, will include all that he has to say in the volume before alluded to, on that subject:

"As the locality of Prairie du Chien was confessedly the most fitting place for trading purposes of any point in the Wisconsin country, we may well judge that La Salle, with his long experience and observation, was not slow to fix his trading establishment at that favorite locality, and he deserves the credit of having, in all probability, been the primitive trader at that point, so far as we have any recorded evidence. Whatever he did, however, was not so much in the interest of effecting the settlement of the country as in securing trade and profit in furs and peltries, which was equally true of all the early traders, with their forts and trading establishments scattered along the lakes and streams of the northwest."

Let us examine the separate propositions contained in the quotation just given:

(1) It is assumed that the locality of Prairie du Chien was, in 1680, the most fitting place for trading purposes of any point in the Wisconsin country. But, in support of this declaration, there is no record or other evidence extant. (2) Because Prairie du Chien, in 1680 (or before), was such a fitting place for trading purposes, it is to be inferred that La Salle hastened to fix his trading establishment

there. But no writer of early western events has advanced any such idea. (3) La Salle deserves the credit of having been the first trader at Prairie du Chien, in all probability. But there is nowhere to be found a scratch of the pen, by any writer, so far as is known, suggesting any such credit.

It is a matter of some importance to fix the time when La Salle began his trading-post on the Wisconsin. But this can be determined only approximately. That it was not commenced before Hennepin and his companions left the Illinois for the country of the Sioux (February, 1680), there can be no question. No account of La Salle before that date refers to any such establishment; Hennepin does not mention it, which he undoubtedly would have done had it been in existence, for he passed up the Wisconsin, on his return to civilization, early in the fall of 1680. In 1681, when La Salle had received a full statement as to the upper Mississippi country, he was placed in possession of sufficient knowledge as to the region of the Wisconsin—of the large herds of buffaloes that roamed over that derelict region (for no savage tribes then inhabited that river)—to begin understandingly the founding of a trading-post there; and he declares, on the twenty-second of August, 1682, that he had commenced such an establishment. It is safe to conclude, then, that it was during the year 1681, or in the first half of 1682, that steps were taken by him to start his enterprise on the Wisconsin. The subsequent career of La Salle makes it certain that it was of very short existence. Exactly where, on that river, it was located will continue to remain, doubtless, a matter of the merest conjecture.

C. W. B.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

WHILE there is no disposition to discuss anything of present politics in this connection, no exception can be taken to a retrospective glance at the past of one of the leaders of public events of to-day—a man who, in his person, associations and traditions, is a link between the old generation of statesmen and the new—Allen G. Thurman, the Democratic candidate for vice-president. Three times and only three times has he been a candidate before the people in a popular election. In 1844, when but thirty-one years of age, he was nominated to congress by the Democrats of the district in which he was then practicing law—the Chillicothe, Ohio—and elected. During that service he voted for the "Wilmot Proviso," and opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as a needless disturbance of a fair settlement of controverted questions, the re-opening of which might produce endless troubles. A lawyer all the way through, he declined a reelection and went back to the bar. In 1851 he was elected to the supreme bench of the state, under the new constitution, and drew the term for four years. Serving a portion of that time as chief-justice, he again declined a re-nomination, and remained in private life until 1867, when the Ohio Democrats looked about for a man to run against General Hayes. A majority of forty-two thousand in the preceding year—when William Henry Smith, now of the Associated Press, was elected secretary of state over Ben La Fevre—was to be cut down, and the outlook was not promising. But a unanimous vote in the Democratic state convention showed that the party was solidly back of him, and he accepted and went to work. How well he carried himself, is shown somewhat by the fact that Hayes was elected by only 2,983 plurality; the legislature was carried by the Democrats, and the proposition to amend the state constitution in favor of Negro suffrage

was defeated by over fifty thousand votes. Thurman was made senator, and entered upon his legislative career.

It was a hard row that Thurman was compelled to hoe in early life, but grit and industry carried him through. The devotion of his mother made it possible for him to attend the old academy at Chillicothe, and while he was there, the greater part of his associates departed for the college courses for which they had been preparing. He was compelled to remain at home, for his parents not only could not furnish the needed money, but he was compelled to aid in the family support. Smarter than any who were sent away, and consumed with a desire for knowledge that has never been quenched, he saw his companions mount the stage and drive away, with a feeling akin to despair. With natural bitterness in his heart and tears in his eyes, he went away to that loneliest place on the green earth, the country church-yard, and lying down on an ancient, flat tombstone, cried out the grief that was within him. But there was a touch of the Roman about him even then, and after a time he rose up with the determination to do the best that in him lay. To a friend who met him on his homeward way, he determinedly said: "If they have learned more than I have, when they come home, they must work for it." And no boy ever worked harder over his books than young Thurman did for many years thereafter. For nine years after his admission to the bar, the greater part of his earnings went to his sisters and his mother. He studied literature and the languages while he studied law, and to-day he is one of the most thoroughly learned men in public life. He is a fine French scholar, and among his favorites are the early French dramatists, whom he reads in the original. He also has a genius

for mathematics, and frequently amuses himself by working out abstruse and intricate problems. He owns a large and well-selected library, that in some form touches on every point of the world's literature.

THE Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly for September almost equals in historic and local value the Marietta Centennial number issued in June. It contains a number of papers bearing on the history of Marietta and the northwest, among which may be mentioned a memorial of Dr. Israel W. Andrews, prepared by Honorable William P. Cutler, who, for over forty years, was an intimate associate of Dr. Andrews, and who is perhaps more fully conversant than anyone else with his work and its results; "A History of the Organization of the First Church in Marietta," with picture of the old church building erected in 1809, and still occupied by the congregation, by Rev. C. E. Dickinson, and of great value to all those interested in the religious elements in the first colony; "Three Important Documents Relating to Land Cessions in the Northwest Territory," one of which has never before been published, and the other two are difficult of access; "The Conclusion of the Sketch of the Life of William D. Gallagher, Esq.," (with excellent portrait) by Professor W. H. Venable; and "The First Gathering of the Republican Party in Ohio," by Henry B. Carrington—an important fragment of the history of the anti-slavery movement in Ohio, and is in no sense a campaign document.

THE 'Tour' of John Pope, from which copious extracts were made in last month's issue, commented not alone upon Pittsburgh, but gave attention to various other cities through which the writer passed. Some of those observations were doubtless colored by the personal bias of one who gives many signs of being led by his feelings and prejudices. Of the metropolis of Pennsylvania: "In my Perambulations through Philadelphia (whose Police is most excellent) I do not recollect ever to have seen a Beggar, or heard that Prophanity

and Vulgarity of Expression, so common amongst the lower Class in all other populous Cities; but on the contrary, discovered all Ranks decently habited, with a Serenity of Countenance, mild Address, and in Steady, though moderate, Pursuit of their respective Vocations." Of Louisville: "The Stranger here may consider himself as at Home,—for such is the extreme Hospitality of the People, that unknown to their Guest, they will confer, or rather impose Acts of Beneficence, which cannot be refused without Rudeness." His comments upon New Orleans are very much as a visitor might make to-day: "This city is the Residence of *Don Miro* a Spanish Viceroy, and Emporium of *Louisiana* and the *Indian* Territories dependent thereon—it lies in almost an exact Square. The Streets which are wide, and some of them well paved with Brick, intersect each other at right Angles. The public Buildings are capacious and elegant. The private Houses generally neat and commodious. Both Descriptions lie compact and cover a Space of Ground of rather more than Half a Mile square. As the Situation of *New Orleans* was originally Nothing more than an extensive Morass, and subject to the Inundation of the *Mississippi*, it became necessary to exclude the Water by constructing Dikes from about ten to fifteen Feet in Height and double that Measure in Width. The steady Exertions of many Hands were, and still are employed in the Business; notwithstanding which the Dikes are sometimes broken through, and considerable Damage sustained by the Influx of Water into their Cellars, Gardens, and lower Rooms."

AT "*Pensacola*, the Metropolis of *West Florida*," he found "but one Tavern for the Accommodation of *Americans* and *Foreigners*, and its Rates are enormously high." "I was much pleased with *Augusta* and its high level Situation, but more so with her Citizens and the reputable Families in its Vincinage." Savannah was "happily situated for both foreign and internal Trade, as verging on the Atlantic to the East, and lying about Midway

on the inland Navigation, which extends from *Charleston* to *St. Mary's* river, the Southern Extremity of the United States." "The Situation of *Charleston*, the Character of her Citizens and the Nature of her Police fit her for Trade and Commerce, which however are not driven to that Extent as is observable in some Northern Towns which do not possess the third Part of her Opulence. In Point of Prospect it eclipses all other Cities in the Union, and is inferior to only Three in Size, Wealth, Population, Trade and Elegance of Buildings. Her Citizens are a gay, luxurious People fond of Dress and pompous Equipage, in which they give the Ton to *Augusta* and *Savannah* who are most excellent Copyists."

THE Wisconsin State Historical society has received from Judge B. F. Heuston of Winona, and Messrs. George H. Squiers and Antoine Grignon of Trempealeau, a box of relics from the excavation that has been in progress, off and on for the past year, on the shore of the Mississippi river, a mile above Trempealeau village and some three miles above the mouth of Black river, as the *Wisconsin State Journal* informs us. It will be remembered that this excavation has been made with a view to establishing the theory of Judge Heuston that on the site mentioned was one of the several forts built by Nicholas Perrot, the noted French commander and explorer, in 1684-86, on the banks of the upper Mississippi. Some five fire-places of a crude fashion were unearthed, buried beneath an accumulation of forest debris two feet deep. Great stumps, cut forty years ago by the present owner of the land, were buried in the midst of some of the fire-places, the chopper not being aware that he was clearing a forest that had grown up since the early French occupation on this point of river bank, and had pushed itself up through their rude stone-work, now carpeted over with woodlawn turf. In the bottom of the fire-places were beds of ashes, in which were charred bones of birds and animals. It is thought, also, that the trace of a burned stockade was found in a

short line of charcoal along one side of the fire-places. What had evidently been used as a blacksmith's forge was also found, with bits of rudely wrought iron lying about—a pike, fashioned out of a gun-barrel, and some wrought nails; there was also a quantity of slag by the forge, which those expert in such matters think was the result of crude attempts to smelt some of the floating iron ore to be found in the neighboring bluffs—showing that the forge had played the part of blooming as well.

SOME of the bones originally found in the ashes were those of deer and dogs, the latter a great Indian delicacy and not despised by the French explorers when out of other meat; but, unfortunately, none of these early discoveries were kept, although a pair of buffalo horns, found at a later day within the encampment, were preserved, and are now with the iron and slag relics sent to the Historical society. The advance of the season has caused the cessation of the spasmodic work for this year, but Mr. Squiers, who has been the principal excavator, will continue his labor next year. He is a gentleman competent for this service, having been in the employ of the Smithsonian institution on somewhat similar work; his labor in the Trempealeau excavation has been gratuitous, being induced by his historical enthusiasm. That this Trempealeau encampment was once an old French post, either for trading purposes or those of defense or both, there appears to be but little doubt. But whether or not Fort St. Antoine, the principal stronghold of Perrot, remains an open question. If built by Perrot at all, it was probably only his "Wintering Bluff," which is to be found located at this very point on the famous map of the west made by the cartographer, Franquelin, a contemporary of Perrot. In any event, the Trempealeau find is interesting historically, and deserves the attention which it has received from both Wisconsin and Minnesota antiquaries.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

'FRANCE AND THE CONFEDERATE NAVY—1862-1868: AN INTERNATIONAL EPISODE.' By John Bigelow. Published by Harper & Brothers, New York. Received of the Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland.

Mr. Bigelow, as a representative of the United States government in France during a critical period of the war, had access to much information not open to the public, of which he has made good use in this book. He fully relates the arrangements made by the Confederacy with the French emperor, for "the construction in the dock-yards of France of several vessels of war for the Confederate navy, more formidable than any then afloat. Had these vessels reached the coast of America, the territory of the United States might possibly now be under two or more independent governments; or, if under one, a widely different one from that under which we are now living, or from any which our fathers designed for us. The history of that conspiracy, and of the means by which the calamities with which it was so big were averted, invite the reader's attention in these pages."

While Mr. Bigelow has not attempted to tell in chronological order the whole story of the secret operations and correspondence between France and the Confederates, and has held himself mainly to the points that have fallen under his own official observation, he has thrown a volume of light upon an "international episode" little known to this generation and almost forgotten by that in which it occurred, but that would have had a great effect upon the fortunes of our land, had not the surrender at Appomattox compelled France to a policy of outward friendship that was foreign to the policy and desire of the emperor of France. The book is one more added to that long list already bequeathed to the future by the actors in the great Rebellion, who have

attempted to preserve an accurate and faithful account of the events of which they were a part.

'THE WISHING-CAP PAPERS.' By Leigh Hunt. (Now first collected.) Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston. Received of the Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland.

'FIRESIDE SAINTS, MR. CAUDLE'S BREAKFAST TALK, AND OTHER PAPERS.' By Douglas Jerrold. (Now first collected.) Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston. Received of the Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland.

'BROKEN LIGHTS: AN INQUIRY INTO THE PRESENT CONDITION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS OF RELIGIOUS FAITH.' By Frances Power Cobbe. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston.

'RELIGIOUS DUTY.' By Frances Power Cobbe. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston.

The four books above mentioned belong to the new "Good Company" series of selected works of eminent English authors, which Messrs. Lee & Shepard some time since announced, and that has been awaited with considerable interest. In addition to the books here named, the series will contain such works as 'The Lover,' written in imitation of the *Tattler*, by Marmaduke Myrtle, Gent. (Richard Steele); 'Dreamthorp,' by Alexander Smith; 'A Physician's Problems,' by Charles Elam; 'The Schoolmaster,' by Roger Ascham; 'The Story of the Development Theory,' by Joseph Y. and Fanny Bergen; 'The Philosophy of Mirth,' with seven hundred and fifty illustrative anecdotes, by B. F. Clark; 'The Gentleman,' by George H. Calvert; 'Education,' by Herbert Spencer, etc. The happiness of these selections, and the eminent character of the authors who are to appear in the series, speak fully for themselves. Of those above named, 'The Wishing-Cap Papers,' are written in Leigh Hunt's happiest manner, and abound in rich and felicitous descriptions of

nature, in kindly comments on favorite authors and books, and in thoughtful and good-natured speculations on human life. The various essays in the collection are terse in style, vigorous in thought, and show that this genial essayist had the "true capabilities of wrath," and could battle for the right. M. Taine has said that wit is "the art of stating things in a pleasant way," which, if true, makes 'The Wishing-Cap Papers' a very witty book and Leigh Hunt a great wit, for his sentences are brilliant examples of this eminent Frenchman's definition of wit. The book has a firm hold on the reading population, and in its new appearance will gain additional popularity—a popularity worthy of Leigh Hunt, who never wrote a dull line.

'Fireside Saints, Mr. Caudle's Breakfast Talk, and Other Papers,' by Douglas Jerrold—one of the most humorous, witty and inimitable of writers—may be classed among the most successful hits of the late Douglas Jerrold. This collection of his writings, which have been gathered into this pleasing volume, comprises rare specimens of every variety of his versatile genius. It will be difficult to find another volume in the language which will surpass this one in its plenteous harvest of jest and fancy, tenderness and pathos, sound sense and keen satire. Besides the twelve chapters of "Mr. Caudle's Breakfast Talk," and the fifteen "Hedgehog Letters," which may be read consecutively, or at brief sittings, as one pleases, and with equal pleasure, there are sixteen other short papers, just long enough to read of an evening, or to fill up an unoccupied or wearisome hour, and abounding with the conceits—quaint, frolicsome, genial and witty—of this amiable and delightful writer, of whom Leigh Hunt once justly said that if he had "the sting of the bee, he had also his honey."

The works of Frances Power Cobbe are in a very different vein, but they touch close to the better thoughts of human life, and become an aspiration to a higher performance of duty.

'FAMOUS AMERICAN STATESMEN.' By Sarah K. Bolton, author of 'Poor Boys Who Became Famous,' 'Girls Who Became Famous,' 'Stories From Life,' etc., etc. Published by Thomas Y. Crowell, New York.

Those who know Mrs. Bolton as she is known here in the city of her home, are not surprised, as doubtless strangers are, that she should produce so many valuable works in quick succession; for her industry has long been recognized as equal to her ability. She has made a study of American biography, and writes not merely that the facts concerning the man or woman limned may be properly brought out, but that the narrations shall entertain and carry a moral as well. Perhaps her best work in that direction has been furnished in the handsome volume that Crowell & Co. have just offered the trade. The men whose lives she has so pleasantly and carefully set before the youth of America, are such as would interest a writer and bring forth the best that was to be given—Washington, Franklin and Hamilton of the early days; Webster and Clay of the great period of constitutional statesmanship; Sumner, as representing the crusade for emancipation; and Grant and Garfield of these later days; with others than those mentioned. New facts and new methods of presentation make these sketches interesting even to those familiar with the theme; while to the youth they must be of absorbing interest. A number of fine portraits are furnished. We congratulate Mrs. Bolton upon the excellence of her work in this volume, and readers of biography that she has once more turned her pen in that direction.

'PROTECTION ECHOES FROM THE CAPITOL.' Edited by Thomas H. McKee, assistant librarian of the United States senate, assisted by Honorable W. W. Curry of Indiana. Published by McKee & Co., Washington, D. C.

This work is as valuable as it is timely, and comes at a time when men who desire to learn all that can be said upon the question of

protection, but who have not time to go into an exhaustive study thereof, need a compendium which this volume most fully supplies. It contains 1,254 selections from the great tariff debate on the Mills bill in the house of representatives, and on the President's message in the senate; also other important tariff information, to which is added the existing tariff and the Mills bill, in parallel columns, compared. Since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, in 1789, congress has been in session one hundred and twelve times and occupied 13,627 days. During this period one hundred and twenty-five bills for raising revenue upon imposts have become laws. The best thought expressed in all this debate forms the basis of the present discussion on the Mills bill. Four thousand one hundred and seventy-six large quarto pages of the *Congressional Record* contains this debate in about two hundred set speeches, running through sixty-six days, and the work required to cull the best thought and expression from all this has been very great. "It is a lexicon to which the students of the topic can refer with advantage," says Senator Ingalls of the work; while Senator John Sherman adds: "It is certainly a great mine of argument in favor of protection, in a form very convenient for reference, and will, no doubt, be useful in the present canvass. As a ready book of reference it will be invaluable."

'DOWN THE GREAT RIVER; EMBRACING AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE TRUE SOURCE OF THE MISSISSIPPI, TOGETHER WITH VIEWS, DESCRIPTIVE AND PICTORIAL, OF THE CITIES, TOWNS, VILLAGES AND SCENERY ON THE BANKS OF THE RIVER, AS SEEN DURING A CANOE VOYAGE OF OVER THREE THOUSAND MILES FROM ITS HEAD-WATERS TO THE GULF OF MEXICO.' By Captain Willard Glazier, author of 'Soldiers of the Saddle,' 'Capture, Prison-pen and Escape,' 'Battles for the Union,' etc. Published by Hubbard Brothers, Philadelphia.

We have given the title to this book in full, because it describes, in fewer words than might otherwise be employed, the varied character of the contents and the great claim that the

author so confidently puts forth; for in this work, as heretofore in the public press, Captain Glazier lays claim to being the true discoverer of the source of the Mississippi—a claim that many have denied, and that is even yet in course of settlement before the geographers and the public. Of that claim, the author says briefly in his introduction: "Satisfied that the exploration at the head-waters of the Mississippi had been completed by Schoolcraft and Nicollet, nothing further was attempted in this quarter, with the exception of a partial survey, from 1836 to 1881—an interval of forty-five years—when in the latter year the question of the fountain-head of the great river was again revived, and a hitherto unrecognized lake to the south of Itasca was located by the author of this volume as the primal reservoir—the true source of the *Father of Waters*."

This is not the place, nor is it our province, to attempt an investigation of this claim, nor to pass judgment upon it, although in passing it may be remarked that Captain Glazier very plausibly states his case, and furnishes many points in corroboration. Yet we can say that in his description of his long float down the great river, he has made a readable book, and given many bright and interesting glimpses of the people and places upon its banks. One hundred and sixteen days were occupied in the trip, all of which were filled with observation and incident. The book has been finely illustrated, and supplied with all the skill of the printer and binder. It is valuable in that it is the detailed description of travel upon a highway of which the people have little knowledge.

'THE ARYAN RACE: ITS ORIGIN AND ITS ACHIEVEMENTS.' By Mr. Charles Morris, author of 'A Manual of Classical Literature.' Published by S. C. Griggs & Company, Chicago.

This work that combines history, description and philosophy in about equal proportions fills a place in the literature that has grown up concerning this wonderful race, that no other book attempts to fill. As the author well says, the story of this people, despite the great

interest which surrounds it, remained unwritten, heretofore, in any complete sense; there are many books, indeed, which deal with it fragmentarily, yet no general treatment of the subject had been essayed until Mr. Morris gave us the one above cited. That he has done his work well, a glance at the contents of the work will make sure. It is, as has been well said, "a thoughtful and admirable attempt to trace the intellectual history of humanity from its source. It shows wide reading, deep study and fine analytical powers, and is exceptionally interesting, not only for the student but for intelligent and knowledge-seeking readers generally. We know of no one volume in which so vast a fund of information relating to the Aryans can be found. It cannot fail to attract and to interest thoughtful people of every degree. In scientific carefulness, fullness of knowledge, sobriety of judgment, clearness of style and sustained interest, the book is worthy of all praise. It must have been the outcome of long and careful study, and it fills a place in our literature hitherto entirely vacant, and fills it in a way which does credit both to his scholarship and his literary powers. The man that wants to know all about his own race and the ancestry of modern nations, such as the Teutons, the Slavs, the Celts, the Saxons and others, should study it. It is learned without being pedantic, and profound without being unintelligible. It gives a mass of information and interesting data."

'ADVENTURES OF PIONEER CHILDREN; OR LIFE IN THE WILDERNESS: A PORTRAYAL OF THE PART PERFORMED BY THE CHILDREN OF THE EARLY PIONEERS IN ESTABLISHING HOMES IN THE WILDERNESS.' By E. Fenwick Colerick. Published by Robert Clarke & Company, Cincinnati. Illustrated.

This collection of thrilling narratives of the 'Adventures of Pioneer Children' has been gleaned from the general history of our country and the local histories of the border wars, etc., together with many interesting incidents, acts of heroism and exciting adventures with wild beasts and the crafty Indian, founded on facts, obtained from the actors or their descendants,

which have never before appeared in print. It is, indeed, a book of exciting interest. The children of the early settlers in the Ohio and Kentucky wilderness of a hundred years ago faced, with their parents, the danger of savages and wild beasts. The boys and girls of that time were necessarily a part of the pioneer army, realizing as soon as they could think that their lives were constantly in peril. As a result certain qualities were developed in them that seem surprising to their descendants of this day. As they shared the risk and bore a hand in the common defense, they well deserve the attention of the historian, and the idea of writing up their daring exploits and devoted bravery is to be warmly commended. Mr. Colerick has written an absorbing book, one that will be read with wonder as well as eagerness.

'MONTEZUMA'S GOLD MINES.' By Fred A. Ober, author of 'The Silver City,' 'History of Mexico,' etc. Published by D. Lothrop Company, Boston.

This story is one of absorbing interest to the young, and by no means without charm to those of older years. It is a tale of adventure without extravagance, and weaves enough of historical and descriptive matter with the text to give it an added value in that direction. It is well illustrated. Mr. Ober is a writer of skill and experience, and holds the attention when once it is engaged upon any of his charming stories.

'THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURGH.' By General Alfred E. Lee, secretary of the Gettysburgh Memorial Commission of Ohio. Illustrated with twenty full page engravings of the Ohio Memorials. Published by A. H. Smythe, Columbus, Ohio.

General Lee's story of that great battle, as told in this volume, is one of the most graphic and interesting of the many that have been placed upon paper. His fairness and justice to all concerned is commendable, while his literary ability for the task is unquestioned. The fine engravings of the memorials, which Ohio has patriotically placed upon the battlefield, add greatly to the value of the work, and

make a possession which one would care to secure and preserve for the art value alone.

'THE FAITH THAT MAKES FAITHFUL.' By William C. Gannett and Jenkin Lloyd Jones. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

This interesting volume of essays upon a variety of themes, delicately handled, is in its fifth thousand, which certainly is a mark of its popularity. It consists of eight themes, four by each of the authors—"Blessed by Drudgery," "Faithfulness," "I Had a Friend," "Tenderness," "A Cup of Cold Water," "The Seamless Robe," "Wrestling and Blessing" and "The Divine Benediction." The practical wisdom, laid deep in a vein of poetic prose, makes the volume well worth the reading, to say nothing of the pleasure one has in that perusal.

'GROUND RENTS IN PHILADELPHIA.' By Edward P. Allinson and Boies Penrose, members of the Philadelphia bar. Number three, in the publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

This is an exhaustive, yet clearly understood, exposition of a peculiar phase of property-holding in a great city where the tenement house is practically unknown.

'SUCCESSFUL WOMEN.' By Sarah K. Bolton, author of 'How Success is Won,' 'Social Studies in England,' etc. Published by D. Lathrop Company, Boston.

Mrs. Bolton has introduced us in this instance to a company of women whose lives have hardly heretofore been given the public in book form—those of the present generation of workers, whose work is by no means done. Juliet Corson, Mary Louise Booth, Francis E. Willard and Mrs. Alden are of the number, with others equally or less well known. A portrait of each of the subjects is furnished, and it is to be regretted that the work of the artist has not been up to the requirements of this otherwise beautiful and artistic work. Mrs. Bolton seems to have been at her best—her sketches are interesting, and the characters

have been made to live with a new and absorbing interest. While the work is for old and young, it is such as a parent would be glad to have in the hands of the girls, encouraging them to new efforts, and emulating them to honorable deeds.

'THE LAND OF THE NIHILIST; RUSSIA, ITS PEOPLE, ITS PALACES, ITS POLITICS. A NARRATIVE OF TRAVEL IN THE CZAR'S DOMINIONS.' By William Elroy Curtis, author of 'The Capitals of Spanish America,' 'A Summer Scamper,' 'The Children of the Sun,' etc. Published by Belford, Clarke & Co., Chicago, New York and San Francisco.

Mr. Curtis' admirable work upon the Spanish capitals of South America is accompanied in this volume by a description of his personal observations and experiences in the land of which the world has at present so much to say, and especially so much to ask. In the summer of 1887, as correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*, he spent some time in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and other portions of the Czar's domains, finding many amazing things, and seeing many strange sights that only a newspaper correspondent would undertake to describe. His letters to the *News* having won such widespread and favorable comment, he was led to arrange them in form for handy and permanent use, and the result is this graphic and fully illustrated book. The work becomes not only one of description, but a guide-book as well. Mr. Curtis writes with a trained and facile pen, and in the things he has described, both old and new, he has given us a series of pictures of charming reality. The endless variety of fact he has compassed into the space given, is one of the chief merits of the work, and gives it an added value—for the world is too busy now to read a column where a paragraph will do, as newspapers like the *News* and writers of experience like Mr. Curtis long since found out.

'IN CASTLE AND CABIN, OR TALKS IN IRELAND IN 1887.' By George Pellew, A. M., LL. B., of the Suffolk bar. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Mr. Pellew spent four months and over, in Ireland, making a study of the conditions of

social, political and business life there existing. And if he has not produced a book which all sides will accept as a complete statement of the case, he has at least given the public one that attempts to be fair, and that has the merit of being largely made up of the narratives of those upon the ground, rather than in the language of the author. He set upon every person he met, no matter what might be his views, and attempted to draw him into conversation upon the condition of the country and the reasons that made him oppose Home Rule, or desire it. Full notes were taken of these conversations, and the result is the record of over two hundred talks with officials, landlords, land agents, priests, farmers, professional men, merchants, shop-keepers, commercial travelers and laborers. Of this labor, Mr. Pellew says: "Four months is, perhaps, not long enough to find out much about a country so variously interesting as Ireland. If I can, however, succeed in making the reader feel as though he had seen and heard what passed in my presence during those four months, this little book may have been worth the reading. It will, at least, suggest some of the difficulties to be met by any statesman and by any nation that proposes finally and at once, to solve the group of problems so long unfortunately known as the Irish question." The work contains a fine map of Ireland. It is a valuable contribution to the literature of the great question confronting England to-day, and contains many side-lights of information that were not specially within the main scope of the work.

'HISTORY OF TENNESSEE. THE MAKING OF A STATE,' By James Phelan. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. Received of the Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland.

The historical researches that of recent years have been carried on in relation to the early days of this southern commonwealth, have given it an interest which it did not seem to possess, when overshadowed by the greater individuality of Kentucky, Virginia and Ohio. As Mr. Phelan says: "Although the annals of Tennessee are not filled with accounts of the revolutions which have changed the complexion of the world, yet her history, in addition to the interest which it possesses for her children as giving an account of the achievements of their ancestors, has one claim upon the attention of the thoughtful student of history which is peculiarly her own. In it can be studied, as under a glass and in an hour, the process of

development which in other states is either imperfectly displayed or is spread over a long stretch of time, the periods of which are indistinctly understood, or marred by extraneous and disturbing causes. . . . In Tennessee we have within the limits of a century a picture of National life as complete as that of England through its two thousand years, or that of Rome, from the kings to the emperors. We can study the process by which wildernesses were turned into gardens, and observe the stages of development from primitive rudeness to civilization and refinement, from disorganization to organization; from the absence of all law, through all the grades of a complete system of laws imperfectly obeyed, to a time when a community of nearly two millions of people live together in the bonds of a sober, industrious and law-abiding citizenship."

The treatment of the subject in Mr. Phelan's work has been carried out in accordance with the above view; and certainly a remarkable record is the result. The ability and fairness of the writer are conceded from the opening chapter, while the research and labor he has given are something wonderful—as the list of authorities consulted would alone show. The state gains a new importance in the eyes of the reader, and he for the first time understands its full and true relation to the history of our country and the west. Many unexpected side-lights of history are also displayed upon almost every page.

'OHIO: A POEM FOR THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION, 1888.' By Bertha Monroe Rickoff. Published by Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati.

The poem read by Miss Rickoff at the banquet of the Ohio Society of New York, at Delmonico's, on April 7, 1888, has been reproduced by the enterprise of Robert Clarke & Co., in a beautiful form, elegantly illustrated by a series of beautiful pictures that carry out the suggestions of the text. That Miss Rickoff should be naturally possessed of literary talent is no surprise to those who know her parents, her father being Andrew J. Rickoff, who was once at the head of the Cincinnati schools, while both her parents have written much and written well. The poem shows promise of poetic work that time and experience will improve; and as a souvenir of Ohio's centennial, "Ohio" has a special claim upon the public interest aside from any question of poetic worth.

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